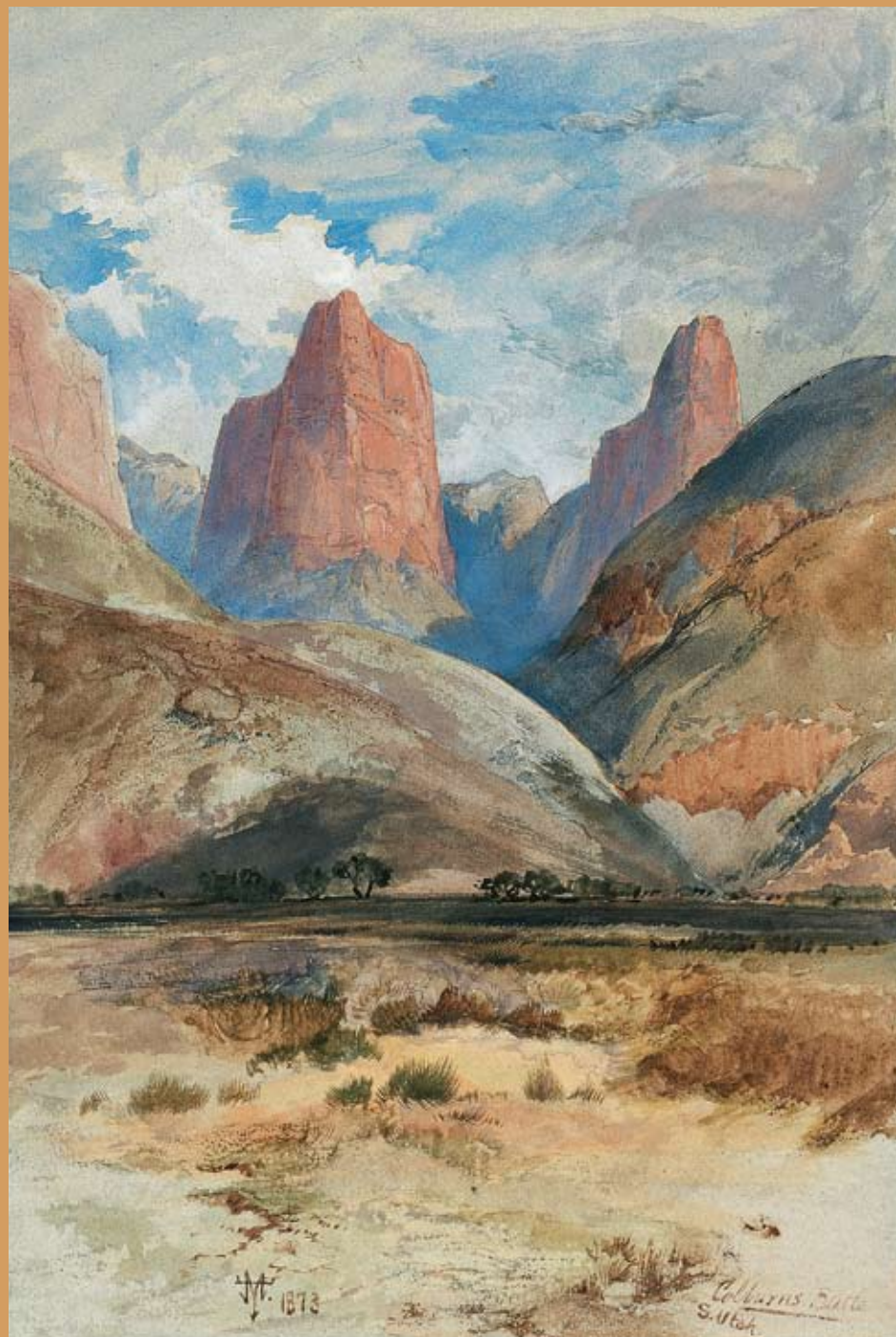


METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL

VOLUME 44 / 2009



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The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

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The *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is published annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
John P. O'Neill, Publisher and Editor in Chief
Sue Potter, Managing Editor
Bruce Campbell, Designer
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Cover illustration: Thomas Moran (American, born England, 1837–1926). *Colburn's Butte, South Utah*, 1873. Watercolor and gouache on paper, 14 x 9 in. (35.6 x 22.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Promised gift of David and Laura Grey. See Figure 1, page 186.

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ISBN 978-1-58839-353-1
ISSN 0077-8958
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 68-28799
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Printed and bound in Italy by Graphicom S.r.l., Vicenza.

Contents

An Ivory Fan Handle from Nimrud PAUL COLLINS	9
Two Pillars from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli ELIZABETH ANGELICOUSSIS	21
A Twelfth-Century Baptismal Font from Wellen JEAN-CLAUDE GHISLAIN	37
A Venetian Vignette One Hundred Years after Marco Polo ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER	47
The Crossbow of Count Ulrich V of Württemberg DIRK H. BREIDING	61
Joseph Wright's Pastel <i>Portrait of a Woman</i> I. A Survey of the Drawings of Joseph Wright, by ELIZABETH E. BARKER II. Sources, Meaning, and Context, by CONSTANCE MCPHEE III. Techniques and Aesthetics, by MARJORIE SHELLEY	89 91 100 113
A Tale of Two Sultans I. Fragonards Real and Fake, by PERRIN STEIN II. The Materials and Techniques of an Original Drawing by Fragonard and a Copy, by MARJORIE SHELLEY	121 130
Peregrinations of a <i>Lit à la Duchesse en Impériale</i> by Georges Jacob DANIËLLE O. KISLUK-GROSHEIDE	139
Jean-Galbert Salvage and His <i>Anatomie du gladiateur combattant</i> : Art and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary France RAYMOND LIFCHEZ	163
Thomas Moran's <i>Colburn's Butte, South Utah</i> : Forgotten Landmark of a Lost Friendship KEVIN J. AVERY	185
"Handelar's Black Choir" from Château to Mansion PAUL F. MILLER	199

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

TO JOHN P. O'NEILL

Inspired Publisher and Editor in Chief
Inspiring Friend

An Ivory Fan Handle from Nimrud

PAUL COLLINS

Curator, Department of the Middle East, The British Museum, London

During excavations of the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) at Nimrud by the British School of Archaeology in Iraq in 1951–52, a deep well was investigated at the southern end of a room designated NN.¹ The accumulated debris filling the well contained pottery vessels, fragments of bronze objects, wooden furniture, and pieces of carved shell and ivory. A considerable number of these objects were thrown into the well, perhaps in the hope of later recovery, when Babylonian and Median soldiers sacked Nimrud in 612 B.C., bringing to an end the Assyrian empire that had dominated an area from Egypt to Iran. Many of the ivory pieces display carving of the highest quality; one very fine example is the top of a fan handle (Figure 1), which was partly encased beneath a thick coat of bitumen when found at the bottom of the well.² It entered the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1954, when the finds were divided between Iraq and the excavation's funding institutions, in accordance with the practice at that time.³

The handle is a very fine and delicately modeled example of an Assyrian-style ivory. Generally dated to the ninth and eighth centuries B.C., Assyrian-style ivories are so named because they are decorated with subjects known to us from the wall reliefs, paintings, and decorated metalwork of the Assyrian palaces. They contrast with so-called Syrian-style ivories, which have designs related to stone carvings of northern Syrian cities, and Phoenician-style ivories, with designs that are influenced by Egyptian art. Examples of Assyrian-style ivories have been found in northern Iraq at Nimrud, Nineveh, and Balawat, and in northwestern Iran at Hasanlu.⁴ Carved with an incised line or in low relief with a few examples in the round, their decoration includes scenes of warfare, processions, and figures approaching a stylized tree. Simpler animal and plant designs known in Assyrian glyptic art and ceramics also occur on these objects.

The Metropolitan Museum's fan handle is carved from a single piece of ivory and is preserved virtually complete.⁵ Three hollow cylinders on its top were previously thought to have accommodated bristles, but as will be suggested below, they more likely held feathers. Below the cylinders, a rectangular space contains a scene, framed at top and bottom by three bands and repeated on both faces of the object; the bands continue on the narrow sides, which are otherwise undecorated. The carved scene depicts a pair of half-kneeling beardless figures flanking a stylized tree. Plucking rounded fruit with their raised right hands, they hold in their left hands the ends of fillets that emerge from the tree trunk. Each figure's hair is bound with a band and falls in a block of curls to the shoulders. The two wear simple round-necked, ankle-length robes with short sleeves, belted at the waist. The central tree consists of four stems, with moldings at the center and beneath the volute palmette at the top. Fillets or stalks emerging from the central molding end in what may be stylized flowers, perhaps lotuses. The framed scene rests on three pairs of downward-curving, openwork volutes, set on a partially preserved molded column. The handle originally would have been attached to a separate staff by means of the dowel hole drilled in the base of the column and secured with the ivory pin that is still in place on one side.

The fan handle was first published in 1952 in the *Illustrated London News*, where Max Mallowan described it as "an ivory plaque finely carved on either side with a mythological scene depicting two bearded, kneeling figures holding on to bands which are tied to the sacred tree. This may perhaps represent the bedecked Assyrian 'Maypole' which appears to have played an important part in the Assyrian New Year Festival."⁶ Nearly three years later, Joan Lines followed Mallowan in describing "two figures kneeling before a 'sacred tree' or 'maypole,' believed to have had ritual significance in the Assyrian New Year's festival."⁷ In Mallowan's survey of the British School's excavations at Nimrud, the figures, though no longer described by him as bearded, are still interpreted as taking part in "a ritual

1. Two faces of a fan handle from the Northwest Palace, Nimrud, Iraq. Neo-Assyrian, 7th century B.C. Ivory, 4 x 1 3/8 x 3/8 in. (10.2 x 3.5 x 1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1954 (54.117.3)



performed at the Assyrian spring festival.”⁸ Finally, Mallowan and Leri Glynne Davies suggested a possible connection between the scene and the New Year festival in their 1970 catalogue of Assyrian-style ivories from Nimrud.⁹

Mallowan’s interpretation of the scene on the fan handle is based on a suggestion by Sidney Smith, who in 1922 posited the existence of an Assyrian New Year festival “maypole” and related it to the stylized trees found on Assyrian reliefs.¹⁰ Smith formulated this thesis from his reading of a seventh-century B.C. letter from Nineveh (British Museum, K189), which seemed to refer to Akitu temples where tree trunks were decorated with metal bands and fillets. Smith associated the setting up of decorated tree trunks with the New Year festival because these celebrations were thought to have taken place in Akitu temples.¹¹ James Breasted followed this interpretation: “Assur’s oldest symbol was the

tree of life, which the Assyrians set up and decorated every spring like a Maypole.”¹² Henri Frankfort, too, was convinced of the idea, which was strengthened in his mind by the discovery of trunks of cedars bound with copper bands that had once flanked doorways in the temples of Sin and Shamash at Khorsabad.¹³ A more recent translation of tablet K189 indicates, however, that the text in fact concerns a lamentation priest at Nimrud, whom the author accuses of making alterations to temple buildings without royal permission.¹⁴ The letter contains no references to setting up decorated trees in Akitu temples, and the meaning of the fan handle’s scene must therefore be revisited.

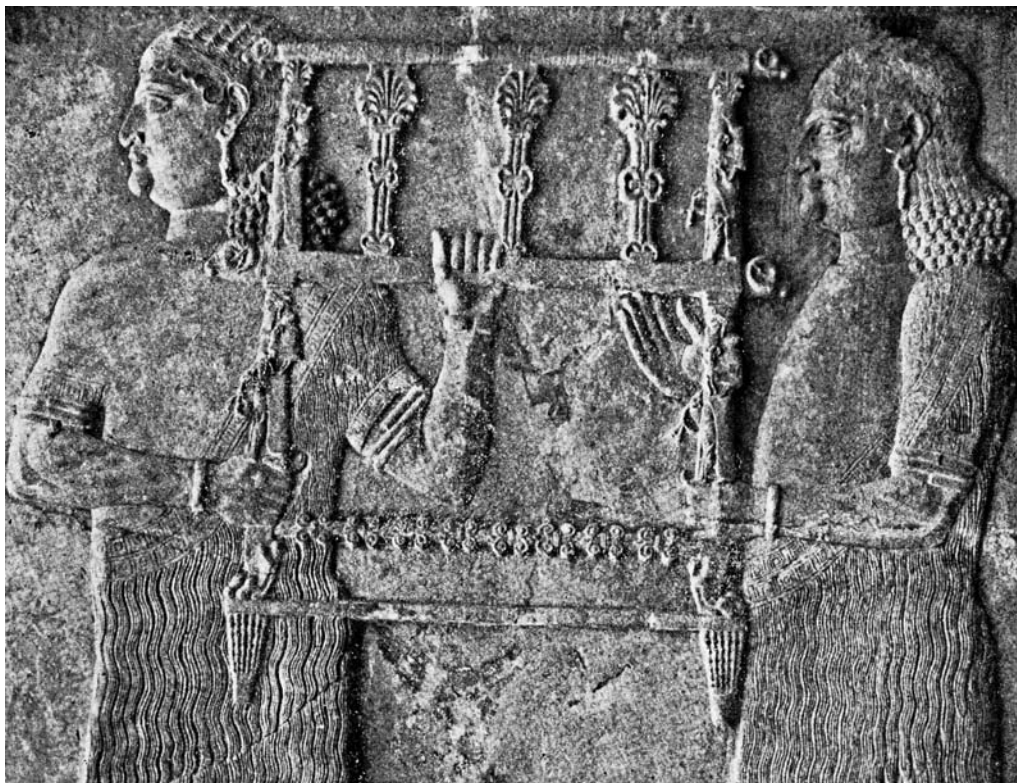
The central element of the two carved scenes on the ivory, the stylized tree, is formed from volutes and tendrils. Such trees are first known from images dating to the fifteenth to the fourteenth century B.C. from northern Syria

and Iraq, a region then dominated by the kingdom of Mitanni.¹⁵ They are the predecessors of images from the Middle Assyrian period toward the end of the fourteenth century B.C., when volute-trees on cylinder seals were elaborated by clusters of volutes placed at intervals along the stem.¹⁶ These stylized trees in turn were the ancestors of well-known examples in Neo-Assyrian wall reliefs, glazed bricks, and glyptic that scholars often call Sacred Trees. The Sacred Tree is commonly formed from multiple palmettes, which are sometimes replaced with either pomegranates or buds.¹⁷ Some of the rooms in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, for example, have palmette Sacred Trees repeated along all the walls (Figure 2).¹⁸ The tree, which represents abundance, is apotropaic, carved in relief to defend vulnerable parts of the palace such as corners and doorways, and repeated across walls to magically protect the space.¹⁹

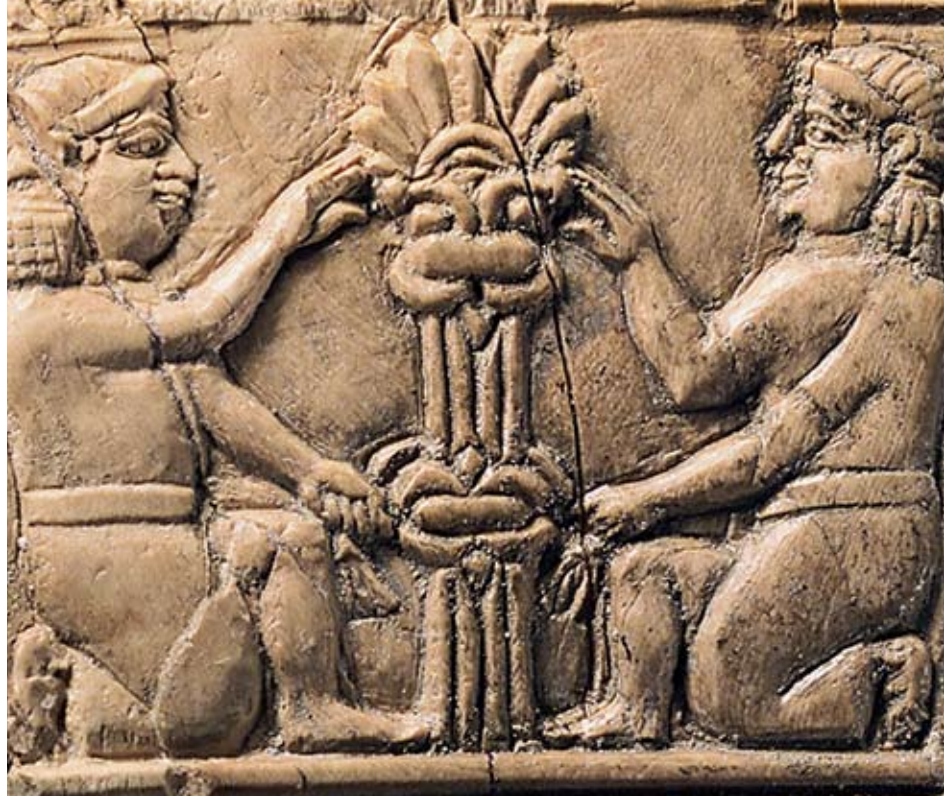
Sacred Trees with multiple palmettes would appear to have a close association with female deities and femininity in general.²⁰ The type of simplified tree represented on the Metropolitan's ivory, however, with a trunk divided into zones by horizontal "bindings," may be gendered only according to its particular context: a version of this tree that appears on stamped clay prisms of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.), for example, has been interpreted as symbolizing the male god Ashur.²¹ As noted by Mallowan, some of the closest parallels to the fan handle's Sacred Tree are those decorating a table on a relief from Khorsabad (Figure 3).²² Whereas the trees on the Khorsabad



2. Detail of a relief showing a Sacred Tree, from room F, Northwest Palace, Nimrud, Iraq. Neo-Assyrian, ca. 875–860 B.C. Gypsum. British Museum, London (ME 124584). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum



3. Detail of a relief showing a table, from Khorsabad, Iraq. Neo-Assyrian, ca. 710 B.C. Gypsum. Iraq Museum, Baghdad (18629). Photograph: Loud 1936, fig. 41



4. Detail of Figure 1 showing carved fruits

relief do not have fillets and emerge from a volute base, the tree on the ivory includes fillets and emerges from the ground line without the more usual “roots.”²³ The trees on both the relief and the ivory have two small rounded fruits at the ends of stalks that sprout from the top of the trunk where the palmette emerges (Figure 4). The variety of the fruit is not clear, but the rounded shape and the possibility that a calyx may be depicted on one of them suggest that they are intended to be pomegranates, which, like palmette trees, are Assyrian symbols of fertility, abundance, and femininity.²⁴ One of King Sennacherib’s rock reliefs at Bavian, for example, depicts a goddess, thought to represent a syncretistic union of the goddesses Mullissu and Ishtar, carrying a staff topped with a stylized tree with radiating branches terminating in pomegranates, possibly representing the abundance of the land provided by the goddess through the king.²⁵

The pairs of antithetical figures flanking the Sacred Trees on the Museum’s ivory handle may represent either women or eunuchs, who are both depicted beardless and wearing ankle-length robes on Assyrian reliefs, metalwork, and carved ivories.²⁶ Whereas there is extensive pictorial evidence of eunuchs from the Neo-Assyrian period, representations of Assyrian women are less common.²⁷ Nevertheless, distinctions between women and eunuchs in Assyrian art become clearer when their costumes and attributes are compared across media, and the gender of the figures on the fan handle can thus be identified. The robes of eunuchs



5. Female head, probably from Nineveh, Iraq. Neo-Assyrian, 7th century B.C. Limestone, 9 x 8½ in. (22.9 x 21.6 cm). British Museum, London (ME 118897). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum

have short sleeves like those seen here, but women’s tunics also display this feature (although women also wore their sleeves below the elbow).²⁸ Eunuchs wear their belts over a cummerbund, while women have a simple band around their waist, as seen on the fan handle. The most obvious



6. Relief showing female genies flanking a Sacred Tree, from room I, Northwest Palace, Nimrud, Iraq. Neo-Assyrian, ca. 875–860 B.C. Gypsum, 46 x 68½ in. (117 x 174 cm). British Museum, London (ME 124581). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum

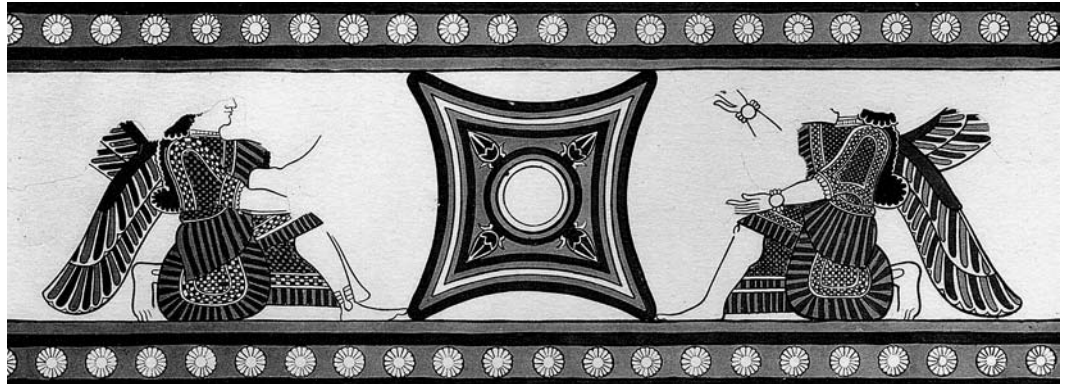
attribute that favors an identification of the individuals on the ivory as female is the headband each wears. The surviving heads of two Assyrian statues, at least one of which was found at Nineveh (Figure 5), depict females with wide headbands of uniform width; similar headgear appears on a statue of a female from Ashur.²⁹ In Assyrian imagery only women and bearded men wear such headbands; those worn by eunuchs are wider behind than in front, distinguishing these individuals as senior officials.³⁰ Julian Reade has noted that eunuchs on reliefs of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) from Khorsabad were originally carved with headbands of standard width but these were later erased or recarved as hair.³¹ Since Sargon claims to have deported skilled workers from conquered regions, it is possible that some of these sculptors, unfamiliar with the conventions of Assyrian courtly dress, rendered the images, which were subsequently corrected.³² A similar explanation may account for inconsistencies in wall paintings of a similar date in the Assyrian residence at Til Barsip (modern Tell ‘Ahmar, Syria). Paintings from room 47 at Til Barsip show eunuchs as well as bearded men wearing ornamented headbands,³³ whereas similar figures in the contemporary wall paintings in room 24 of the same building do not wear headbands.³⁴

The headband and belt worn by the figures on the ivory handle, then, indicate that they should be identified as females. Indeed, it has been suggested that the broad headbands they wear might signify a connection with the

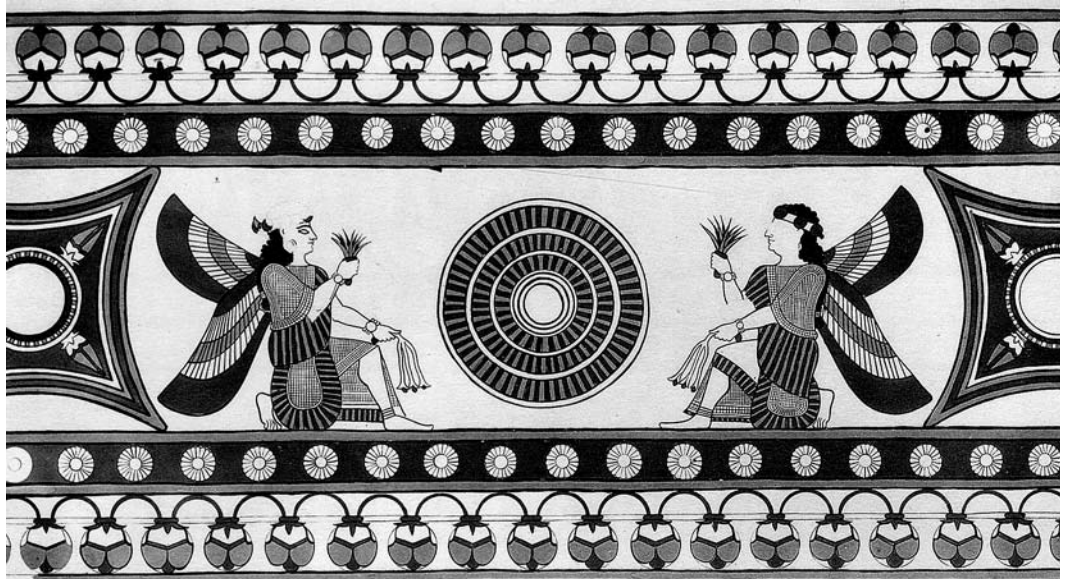
goddess Ishtar.³⁵ Since either a deity and a worshipper or two deities normally flank Sacred Trees, it is possible that the females on the ivory have a close relationship with the supernatural world.³⁶ In Assyrian reliefs from the Northwest Palace at Nimrud, for example, the Sacred Tree can be depicted in isolation or, more often, flanked by bearded genies.³⁷ Usually the genies appear to stride toward the tree, but there are also examples of reliefs where the genies adopt the half-kneeling pose of the figures on the fan handle.³⁸ A few of the standing genies flanking the Sacred Tree in rooms I and L of the Northwest Palace are beardless and wear short-sleeved, ankle-length robes (Figure 6); they have been identified as female genies, perhaps to be associated with Ishtar.³⁹ Both the male and the female genies at Nimrud are usually winged and wear the horned helmet of divinity, however, and these features are clearly not present on the fan handle’s figures.⁴⁰

Stronger parallels can be found between the figures on the ivory handle and the half-kneeling female genies painted on walls in the Assyrian royal residence at Til Barsip. A pair of genies flanking a concave-sided square “cushion” was recorded in room 46 (Figure 7). Unlike the figures on the Metropolitan’s fan handle, they are shown in strict mirror image. Elsewhere in the building, a single genie from room 27 wears a broad headband ornamented with rosettes and holds a triple-branch plant in her lowered left hand and a lotuslike flower in her raised right hand. Another pair of beardless genies, but flanking a roundel, decorate a wall in

7. Drawing of a wall painting of female genies from room 46 in the Assyrian royal residence at Til Barsip. Photograph: Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. 52



8. Drawing of a wall painting of female genies from room 25 in the Assyrian royal residence at Til Barsip. Photograph: Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. 52



room 25 (Figure 8). These are very similar in pose and attributes to the genie from room 27. The robes of the genies are round-necked, elaborately decorated, and fringed, with sleeves that end at or above the elbows. They also wear arm and ankle bracelets; the latter are generally associated with women.⁴¹ As in the pose of the fan handle's figures, their lower bodies are in mirror image while their upper bodies are in rotational symmetry, and they have bare feet.⁴²

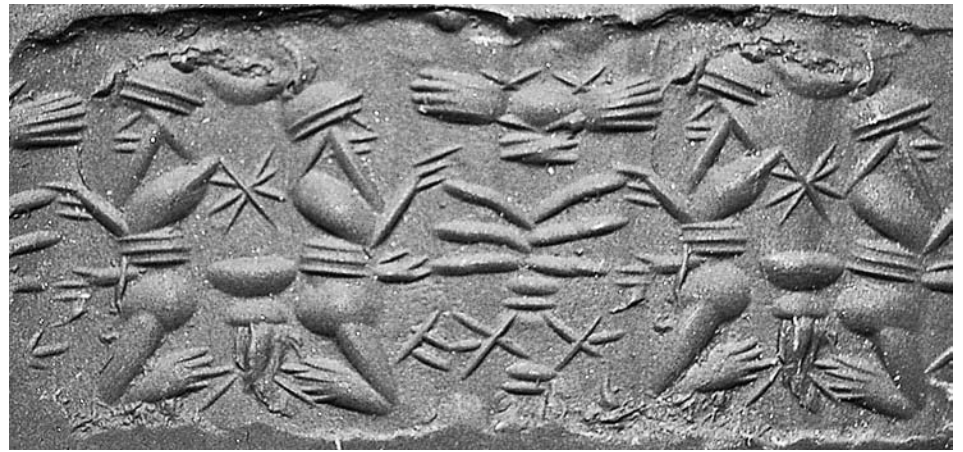
Clearly the Til Barsip female genies have a greater elaboration of costume and jewelry than the fan handle's figures. This fact might be explained by varying conventions of representation in different media.⁴³ The other significant difference from the handle figures is the presence of wings on the Til Barsip female genies. Nonetheless, wingless genies are known from the wall decoration at Nimrud and Til Barsip, as well as from an Assyrian-style ivory from Hasanlu.⁴⁴ At Khorsabad wingless genies represent the most widely depicted supernatural figure on exterior walls and inner doorways of the palace, either positioned singly or on either side of a stylized tree.⁴⁵ The absence of wings is therefore not sufficient evidence to discount the possibility that the figures on the fan handle are divine, since wingless genies

are known in increasing numbers in Assyrian art from the ninth through the eighth century B.C. Because our understanding of the function and ranking of these supernatural beings is limited, some of their forms may reflect a system of representation and placement that we cannot identify. Indeed, some Assyrian cylinder seals of the seventh century B.C. display antithetical, wingless, kneeling figures flanking a tree, each wearing a belt and headband but appearing to be bearded (Figure 9).⁴⁶

To evaluate further the imagery on the fan handle, it is necessary to consider its date. Mallowan places the fan handle in the Sargonid period, possibly to the reign of Sargon II himself.⁴⁷ He reaches this conclusion from the appearance of the square of tightly curled hair resting on the shoulders of the carved figures—a hairstyle certainly depicted first on the reliefs of Sargon but also evident on the monuments of all his successors.⁴⁸ The parallels, noted above, between the Sacred Trees on the fan handle and those on a relief from Khorsabad, as well as comparisons with the Til Barsip female genies, also might suggest a date in the late eighth century B.C. Nevertheless, a review of the changing form of Neo-Assyrian fan handles in the imagery

of the eighth to the seventh century B.C. points to a somewhat later date. Since I have explored this topic elsewhere, it is only necessary to summarize, as follows, some of the findings that led to this conclusion.⁴⁹

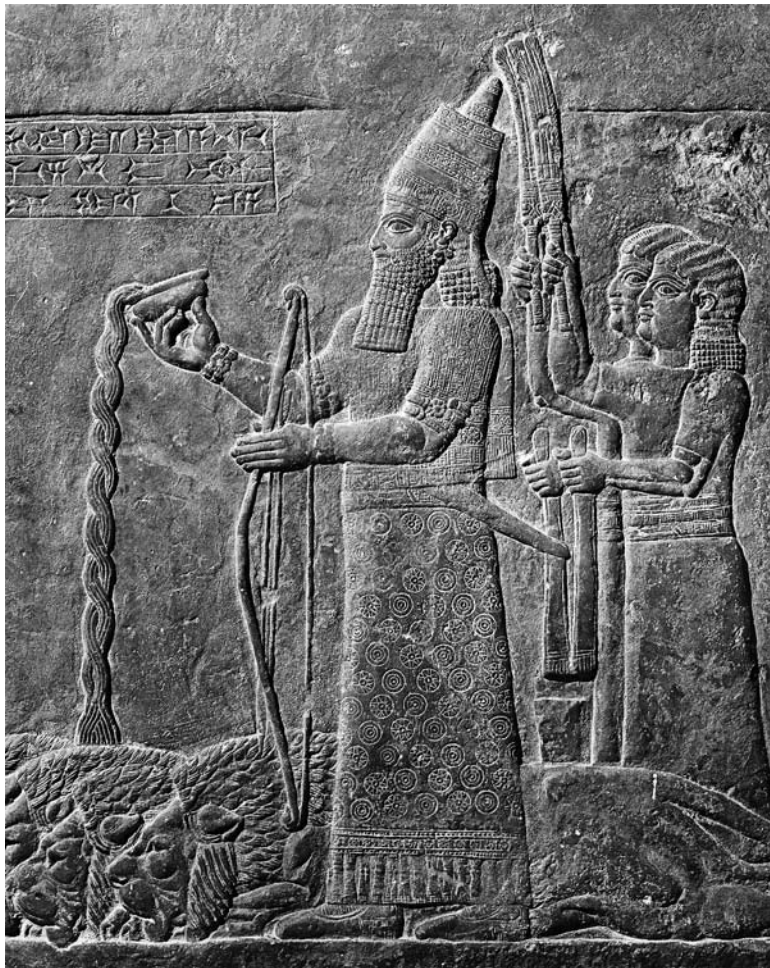
From the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 B.C.), depictions of the king show him attended by a eunuch courtier holding a fan, whose handle terminates in a lotus shape from which feathers emerge.⁵⁰ On the Khorsabad reliefs of Sargon II, eunuchs hold similar fans, each with a handle carved in the shape of a lion's head at the lower end. Under Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), the attendant's feather fan is more elaborate than those depicted at Khorsabad, with the addition of two pairs of volutes supporting the lotus and three parallel moldings at the top, from which four very long feathers emerge. The last representations of Assyrian fans occur in the reliefs from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal (668–631 B.C.) at Nineveh, where volutes form part of the tops of handles as a standard feature. The volutes sometimes support a square section topped with cylinders bearing feathers. In one relief, fallen into room S from an upper floor, the king pours a libation over dead lions while he is attended by two fan bearers, each holding a folded napkin in the left hand and, in the right, a fan decorated with



double volutes, a square ribbed section, and three cylinders (Figure 10).⁵¹ Finally, in the so-called Garden Party relief, a pair of female fan bearers stand behind both the king and the queen. Their fans have ribbed shafts topped with three volutes and feathers issuing from three cylinders (Figure 11).

Although parallels have long been noted between the fan handle that is the focus of this article and those represented on the reliefs of Sennacherib,⁵² the strongest correspondence is with the fans just described—those decorated with

9. Modern impression of an Assyrian cylinder seal with kneeling wingless figures. Seal: provenance unknown, 7th century B.C. Chalcedony, 1 1/8 x 3/8 in. (2.75 x 1.1 cm). British Museum, London (1905,1209.10, 102062). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum



10. Detail of a relief showing King Ashurbanipal attended by two fan bearers. Neo-Assyrian, ca. 645–640 B.C., fallen into room S, North Palace, Nineveh, Iraq. Gypsum. British Museum, London (ME 124886). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum



11. Detail of the "Garden Party" relief. Neo-Assyrian, ca. 645–640 B.C., fallen into room S, North Palace, Nineveh, Iraq. British Museum, London (ME 124920). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum

volutes and topped with cylinders to hold feathers that are carried by eunuchs and women on the reliefs of Ashurbanipal.⁵³ By the seventh century B.C., Assyrian palace reliefs represented some of the most sustained visual narratives of the entire ancient world. Although variations in details can be noted among the reliefs, they all depict events in a world that would have been familiar to a contemporary audience rather than alien or archaic.⁵⁴ This is not to imply that the images were meant to be taken literally by the viewer; they are constructs intended to reveal the king as a divinely sanctioned, victorious hunter and warrior. Nonetheless, to make that statement more immediate for the viewer, artists included recognizable details such as topographical information, details of dress and ornament, and even identifiable individuals.⁵⁵ The fans represented in the Garden Party relief would therefore very likely have been a type familiar to members of the royal court in the seventh century B.C.

Such a late date for the fan handle is rarely considered, since it has generally been argued that the terminal date for the majority of carved ivories discovered at Nimrud is the reign of Sargon II (721–705 B.C.). This conclusion is based on the evidence that he was the last Assyrian king to use the Northwest Palace as a residence and storehouse. Since Sargon's successor, Sennacherib, focused his building activity on Nineveh and his son Esarhaddon actually removed sculptures from the Northwest Palace for his own building at Nimrud, a late eighth-century date for the latest Nimrud ivories appears very plausible. This dating would also fit with a common assumption that the production of Syrian-style ivories came to an end in the eighth century B.C., at a time when their production centers were absorbed into the Assyrian empire and access to ivory sources diminished with the extinction of Syrian elephants.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, Guy Bunnens has posited that there was a continued production of carved ivories in the Syrian style during the seventh century B.C. on the basis of a collection of ivories from Til Barsip found in a house of that date.⁵⁷ This hypothesis might also suggest the possibility of a continued production of Assyrian-style ivories. As Mallowan points out, "there is no reason to suppose that ivories were not being worked in the 7th century B.C."⁵⁸ He goes on to suggest, however, that the best examples of such carved ivory would have been destined for the royal palaces in the capital city of Nineveh. (Indeed, objects and decorative elements of Ashurbanipal's bed included in the Garden Party relief may represent such ivories, although it is also possible that they depict works in other materials.)⁵⁹ Nevertheless, many rooms of the Northwest Palace in Nimrud also continued to be used as royal residences until the destruction of the city in 612 B.C.⁶⁰ This included the *bitanu* or private domestic quarters that contained the residences of the royal



12. Handle from Burnt Palace, Nimrud, Iraq. Syrian, 9th–8th century B.C. Ivory, 5 ¼ x 2 in. (13.4 x 5 cm). British Museum, London (ME 118102). Photograph courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum

women.⁶¹ The excavation of a well in area AJ of the *bitanu* revealed even richer material than the finds from well NN—almost certainly a reflection of the association of this courtyard with the queens' private apartments. The objects hurled down the wells in the final days of Nimrud could have been plundered from different areas of the palace, but considering their location in a functioning area of the building, at least some of the pieces are likely to have been gathered from the domestic quarters of the royal women.

Just as it has been suggested that particular Assyrian images belonged to the male sphere, especially kingship, it is probable that some of the imagery on the objects from the queens' residences had a special significance for women.⁶² There are, for example, numerous Syrian-style ivories from Nimrud with representations of females that formed elements of furniture or ivory objects now interpreted as

cosmetic and perfume containers.⁶³ These include a large number of ivory handles, possibly for bronze mirrors, objects especially associated in Assyria with women (Figure 12).⁶⁴ In addition, scenes of females engaged in banquets appear on ivory panels carved in the Syrian style discovered at Fort Shalmaneser in Nimrud. These have been plausibly interpreted as elements of the queens' thrones and may represent protective wingless spirits.⁶⁵ Although Assyrian women are largely absent from the palace reliefs and texts, it is notable that some of the most spectacular objects to have survived from Assyria may have belonged to female members of the royal court.⁶⁶

The imagery on the Metropolitan Museum's fan handle might therefore be interpreted in the light of its origins from well NN within the *bitanu* of the Northwest Palace. In the context of the queens' residences, it would be appropriate for a fan handle to be decorated, not with kneeling wingless males flanking a Sacred Tree, as seen in seventh-century B.C. cylinder seals (Figure 9), but, rather, with wingless females. On the fan handle they pluck what may be pomegranates from the stylized tree; both fruit and tree are symbols of femininity, fertility, and abundance. The ivory was carved at a time when Assyrian queens had started to appear on public monuments and the "women of the royal household draw forward from the shadows."⁶⁷ Indeed, the same is true for female images of the supernatural world, for after 700 B.C. sculptures of sphinxes with women's heads—imagery derived from the west of the empire—began to appear in palaces.⁶⁸ In the more private area of the queens' residence within the Northwest Palace, the importance of these royal women may be signaled by works of art reflecting their connections to fertility, exemplified by the imagery on the Metropolitan's fan handle. This finely carved and delicate object therefore not only demonstrates the continued use of ivory for royal objects during the seventh century B.C. but also affords a small insight into the important but largely hidden world of elite Assyrian women.

NOTES

1. The well was cleared to a total depth of 83 feet 4 inches (25.4 meters). Between 1949 and 1963 the British School excavated areas already explored by A. H. Layard (1849), such as the throne room, but also investigated some domestic and administrative areas. See M. Mallowan 1966, pp. 93–183, and Oates and Oates 2001, pp. 36–70, 90–100.
2. The use throughout this essay of the term *fan* does not imply a specific function, and such objects may have served the practical purposes of moving air for cooling or as fly whisks, but they could also have had symbolic and/or ritual use.
3. For a list of institutions, see M. Mallowan 1966, pp. 15–16.
4. For references, see Collins 2006a, nn. 6, 8.
5. The diameter of each of the three cylinders at the top is $\frac{3}{16}$ in. (.5 cm).

6. M. Mallowan 1952, pp. 255–56, fig. 29.
7. Lines 1955, p. 238.
8. M. Mallowan 1966, pp. 144–45.
9. M. Mallowan and Davies 1970, p. 54, no. 203, pl. XLVI.
10. Smith 1922, pp. 43–44. He repeated his interpretation in Smith 1924, p. 84; Smith 1926, p. 72; and Smith 1928, p. 123. M. Mallowan (1966, p. 145n43) refers to doubts having been expressed, by unnamed sources, about Smith's interpretation.
11. Akitu temples are known to have existed in a number of Mesopotamian cities from the third millennium B.C. onward. Dedicated to the local god, the temples were the sites for a specific festival called the Akitu. The Akitu seems to have been celebrated separately from the New Year festival except at Babylon, where the two festivals may have become merged. Indeed, in some Mesopotamian cities more than one Akitu festival took place each year (Klein 1992, pp. 138–40; Bidmead 2002).
12. Breasted 1935, p. 191.
13. Frankfort 1939, p. 205; Frankfort 1954, p. 68. Sargon II (721–705 B.C.) established Khorsabad (ancient Dur-Sharrukin), north of Nimrud, as a new Assyrian capital city. Loud (1936, p. 98) suggests a possible connection between the Khorsabad tree trunks and Smith's ideas relating to the New Year festival, but he also states that the wood may have served as staves to display flags and banners.
14. Cole and Machinist 1998, pp. 102–4, no. 134.
15. Matthews 1990, p. 107. For a review of forms and connections of the stylized tree, see Kepinski 1982.
16. Matthews 1990, pp. 91–92.
17. For the variety of Assyrian Sacred Trees, see Parpola 1993, p. 200, and Collon 2001, pp. 82–85.
18. For the Northwest Palace reliefs, see Paley 1976. Three common variations of the palmette Sacred Trees have been identified at Nimrud; see Albenda 1994a.
19. B. Mallowan 1986; Winter 2003. For a review of the extensive literature, see Giovino 2007.
20. Albenda 1994a. When branches of Sacred Trees end in fir cones, they may be associated with masculinity (Collins 2006c).
21. Roaf and Zgoll 2001, pp. 274–77, fig. 7.
22. M. Mallowan 1966, p. 145n42. Similar tables appear on reliefs as late as Ashurbanipal (668–631 B.C.) and are shown with crossbars decorated with opposed volutes and a central support in the form of a rod with bindings spaced along its length and a small palm or lotus capital mounted on it (Curtis 1996, pp. 176–77).
23. For the variety of stylized tree "roots" that appear on cylinder seals, see Collon 2001, pp. 83–85.
24. Chains or bands of palmettes, cones, and pomegranates appear on Neo-Assyrian sculptured reliefs as well as wall paintings and glazed bricks. They reflect an interest in repetitive patterns that express abundance (Winter 2003; Albenda 2005, pp. 84–118). A Sacred Tree, of the so-called net-tree variety typical of the Sargonid period (for their dating, see Collon 2001, p. 83), with branches ending in alternating pomegranates and palmettes, decorates a headdress element found in a queen's tomb (number II) in the Northwest Palace at Nimrud (Hussein and Suleiman 2000, no. 42).
25. Winter 2003, p. 258.
26. Reade (1972, pp. 91–92) has discussed beardless men in Assyrian reliefs and their likely identity as eunuchs. While there is continuing debate over whether the Assyrian term *ša rēši* should be translated as "eunuch," I use the term here simply as shorthand for "beardless males." For a recent review of the evidence, see Tadmor 2002. For images of eunuchs on metalwork, see King 1915. For

- ivories, see M. Mallowan and Davies 1970, pls. VI–XVII. Eunuchs can sometimes wear a shorter shawl over the ankle-length tunic.
27. Surveys of images of royal women have been undertaken by Albenda (1987), Reade (1987), and Ornan (2002). There are many images of foreign female prisoners of war in Assyrian art, but these are unlikely to provide the source for the distinctly Assyrian image carved on the fan handle (Cifarelli 1998).
 28. As exemplified by the women on the seventh-century-B.C. Garden Party relief from Nineveh (Figure 11) and a figure of a woman from Ashur (Strommenger 1970, pp. 29–30, pl. 20a–c).
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. Reade 1972, p. 95.
 31. *Ibid.*, p. 90. One eunuch on a Khorsabad relief retains his headband, but this too seems to have been wrongly carved (*ibid.*, n. 21). Reade also notes a beardless palace attendant wearing a braided headband on a relief of Ashurbanipal that may also be a mistake on the part of the ancient sculptor.
 32. Reade 2000, p. 609.
 33. Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. 52. Til Barsip was conquered in the ninth century B.C. by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III. French archaeologists excavated the site from 1929 to 1931 and discovered an Assyrian royal residence with some wall paintings in situ. These included narrative, ornamental, and apotropaic scenes. For a discussion of the date of the paintings, see Albenda 2005, pp. 71–72.
 34. Thureau-Dangin and Dunand 1936, pl. 50.
 35. Reade 2002, p. 559.
 36. Images of standing deities flanking a tree are known from glyptic as early as the eighteenth century B.C.; see Reade 1995, fig. 8 middle, and Collon 1987, no. 220. In Middle Assyrian glyptic, humans and/or bird-headed genies, sometimes holding buckets, flank the tree when it is centered in the scene (Matthews 1990, p. 91). For a Middle Assyrian wall painting showing genies flanking a tree, see Andrae 1925, pl. 3.
 37. The Neo-Assyrian figures flanking the Sacred Tree are usually associated with the term *apkallu* (wise sage), an apotropaic divinity (Wiggermann 1992, pp. 65–67). They are depicted as bearded males or with the heads of birds but wearing the same costume. Images of the king together with genies can also flank the Sacred Tree to represent the monarch as mediator between the gods and humanity (Reade 1995, p. 231).
 38. For example, Paley 1976, p. 8, pl. 8. Similar kneeling genies, though holding a bucket and cone, are known from wall paintings at Khorsabad (Loud and Altman 1938, pl. 89).
 39. Paley 1976, p. 26n20; Kolbe 1981, pp. 55–62; Albenda 1996; Russell 1998, pp. 676–77.
 40. Some bearded male genies wear a headband rather than a horned helmet (Collins 2006a).
 41. Albenda 2005, p. 39.
 42. Assyrians, both male and female, generally wear sandals and, from the time of King Sennacherib (704–681 B.C.), enclosed shoes. Female genies in the Northwest Palace have bare feet (Figure 6). Male genies can also appear without shoes: Nimrud (Meuszyński 1976, pls. 11, 13); Khorsabad (Albenda 1986, pls. 53, 54, 59); Nineveh (Barnett, Bleibtreu, and Turner 1998, pl. 267, no. 363).
 43. Collon 2001, p. 65.
 44. For a review of the evidence for wingless genies, see Collins 2006a.
 45. Albenda 1986, p. 56, pls. 62, 131.
 46. Collon 2001, pp. 5, 95–96, nos. 165–67; Porada 1948, nos. 727–30.
 47. M. Mallowan and Davies 1970, p. 54.
 48. Madhloom 1970, p. 85.
 49. Collins n.d. (forthcoming).
 50. Barnett and Falkner 1962, pls. LXXXV, XCVI.
 51. Barnett 1976, pl. LIX.
 52. M. Mallowan and Davies 1970, p. 54.
 53. Lines 1955, p. 238.
 54. The audience of the reliefs was likely to be mainly members of the court elite (Winter 1981, p. 35; Lumsden 2004, pp. 376–77).
 55. Collins 2006b.
 56. Barnett 1975, p. 166; Herrmann 1986, p. 7; Herrmann 1992, p. 42; Winter 1976, p. 17.
 57. Bunnens 1997.
 58. M. Mallowan 1966, p. 478.
 59. Albenda 1994b. For the use of stone and metal in Assyrian furniture, see Curtis 1996, pp. 167–80.
 60. Oates and Oates 2001, p. 70.
 61. This is demonstrated most spectacularly by the discovery of a rich tomb beneath room 49 that belonged to queens of Tiglath-pileser III, Shalmaneser V, and Sargon II; other rich tombs discovered in the Northwest Palace were located beneath rooms MM and 57 (the latter belonging to a queen of Ashurnasirpal II; see Hussein and Suleiman 2000 and Oates and Oates 2001, pp. 78–90).
 62. Albenda (1994b) suggests specific markers for the male king, including images of lions, lamassu, and hero figures. I would add the Assyrian fir trees (Collins 2006c).
 63. See, for example, Oates and Oates 2001, figs. 50, 51, 54, 57–59.
 64. Albenda 1985.
 65. M. Mallowan and Herrmann 1974, p. 15.
 66. For a survey of the textual evidence for elite Neo-Assyrian women, see Melville 2004.
 67. Reade 1987.
 68. Reade 2005, p. 9.

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Two Roman Pillars from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli

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During the reign of the emperor Augustus (*Imperium* dates 27 B.C.–A.D. 14), Rome experienced a boom in luxury public and private edifices, transforming a city of brick into a metropolis of marble. This explosion of building activity was a blatant advertisement for the empire's new power and wealth. In their quest for self-glorification, the Romans discovered that the lavish use of colored marbles, as well as rich and inventive carvings on architectural features, greatly enhanced the grandeur they craved. There was no technical need for such enrichment; in fact, decoration of building parts increased the complexity of a construction—in planning, cost of labor, and time. However, adorning structures with carved ornament proved well worth the effort, since an array of rich visual effects dazzled visitors and highlighted the empire's greatness.

Embellished architectural elements could be found on numerous public monuments in Augustan times—the most notable being the Ara Pacis (Figure 1). This monument, with its elaborately sculpted scrollwork and fauna, delighted the Romans' taste for luxury and sparked a new fashion for carved vegetal ornamentation. On public and private monuments of all types, flora and fauna decorated architecture throughout Roman times and into the medieval period.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses a pair of pillars, enriched with ivy and wildlife, that reflect the Roman passion for adornment. These marbles, purchased in 1919 by the Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Art, were exhibited in the Classical Wing and published among the new accessions in the Museum's *Bulletin* in 1921 and 1922 and its catalogue of classical art in 1930.¹ During the 1940s and 1950s, when many of the display rooms for classical art were dismantled, the pillars were put into storage and all but forgotten. More than half a century later, in 2007, they were installed at the southeast entrance of the outer courtyard in the Leon Levy and Shelby White Gallery.

Their recent public exhibition, together with detailed photography, enables this first, incisive assessment of the marbles.

In this article the marbles are identified as Pillars A and B (Figures 2, 3). The pillars possess slightly different dimensions: Pillar A measures 108 x 12½ x 13¼ inches (274.3 x 31.8 x 33.7 cm); Pillar B, 108 x 12¾ x 13½ inches (274.3 x 32.4 x 34.3 cm). Based on calculations made from the remnants of the vessel with a bird at the bottom of the front face of Pillar B (see Figure 7), both pillars were originally about 13¾ inches (34 cm) wide. According to Vitruvian rules, the ideal proportional relationship of the width to the height of a column should be between 1:8 and 1:10.² Therefore, the Metropolitan's pillars must originally have been about 12 feet (3.66 m) in height.



1. Ara Pacis, detail of the exterior wall. Roman, 13–9 B.C. Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik, Köln (Fitt80-34-02)



2. Pillar A, front panel.
Roman, ca. A.D. 130.
Marble, 108 x 12½ x
13¼ in. (274.3 x 31.8 x
33.7 cm). The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Rogers
Fund, 1919 (19.192.34a)



3. Pillar B, front panel.
Roman, ca. A.D. 130.
Marble, 108 x 12¾ x
13½ in. (274.3 x 32.4 x
34.3 cm). The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Rogers
Fund, 1919 (19.192.34b)



4. Inner panel of Pillar A (Figure 2), showing pivots



5. Outer panel of Pillar A (Figure 2)

Substantial interference has damaged the marbles significantly. On the front panel of Pillar B, at the base of the vessel, is a small vertical channel; on the underside a dowel hole shows that, at one time, the pillar was supported by a pin. On the reverses of both marbles, the outer areas have been recessed 2½ inches (6.5 cm) along the entire length. Pillar A shows further interference: toward the bottom a channel 3½ inches (9 cm) wide was roughly carved across the back, and about halfway up at the right a small metal bar was inserted. The inner sides of both pillars (see Figure 4) have been trimmed slightly, and vertical metal pivot pins with pivot caps were fitted into indentations at the top and bottom (the top pivot of Pillar B is now missing). Approxi-

mately halfway up Pillar B is a rectangular hole with plaster infill. Today, the outer side of Pillar A (Figure 5) contains only about half of its original decoration, while behind this section the marble was hacked off, leaving jagged edges and rough surfaces. At the front edge of this outer side are two rectangular recesses, the top one 3⅜ inches (8.5 cm) wide, the bottom, 3⅛ inches (8 cm). Both have been smoothly picked. These depressions were obviously made to receive insertions, but as there is no evidence of the use of ferrous metal, the additions may have been of wood.

The outer panel of Pillar B also shows two distinct phases of interference. The front portion of the relief has been carved with a point, whereas the back section has been treated with



6. Detail of the calyx-crater at the base of Pillar A (Figure 2)



7. Detail of the calyx-crater, with a bird to its left, at the base of Pillar B (Figure 3)

a claw chisel. Moreover, at the bottom a hammer was crudely used to remove some marble. Although differently treated, the outer reliefs of both pillars show that the relief ground at the back has been reduced equally on each edge by $5\frac{1}{8}$ inches (13 cm). Overall, most of the edges on both pillars have been badly chipped, and weathering has erased much of their finely carved surface details, especially at the back.

Before continuing with an assessment of these marbles, it is necessary to define them in architectural terms, since there is some ambiguity in the distinction between pillars and pilasters.³ Pillars are typically characterized as free-standing rectangular or square supports, while pilasters are always applied or engaged and, by losing their independence, become an integral part of a wall. According to classical principles, a key difference between a pillar and a pilaster is the ratio of the support's thickness to its width.⁴ A pillar should have a depth equal to or greater than half the width of its front face; by contrast, a pilaster projects only fractionally from a wall. I therefore prefer to classify the Metropolitan marbles, with their deep projections, as pillars.

The surviving section of decoration on the outer side of Pillar A (Figure 5) demonstrates that both supports were embellished on three sides. The coarse treatment and hacking away of the inner sides of both pillars (see Figure 4) are completely at odds with the flawless workmanship of the carved faces. Because of this brutal usage, which must have occurred after the marbles' initial installation, the original finish of these panels cannot be determined with complete certainty. However, three-sided pillars are uncommon in

Roman architecture, so the twin supports were most probably worked in the round.⁵

Both pillars' front panels bear vertical friezelike reliefs with similar ornament, but variations in detail. At the bottom of each is a calyx-crater (Figures 6, 7) whose elaborate enrichment calls to mind toreutic work.⁶ Each vessel's body is fluted with a continuous tongue pattern that divides the bowl into many tapering segments. On either side a volute handle rises from the shoulder. Its tall, flaring neck repeats the tongue design—in imitation of motifs on metal calyxes—but with the scalloped edges facing downward. A plain band encircles these ribs. Above, an ovoid motif embellishes the broad, flanged lip, while below, a knopped stem links the crater body with its pedestal. The bottom parts of the reliefs on both pillars have been lost and the feet of the vessels are therefore missing, but comparative material indicates that they originally rested on a baseline representing the earth.⁷

Drinking vessels are often featured within the decorative syntax of architectural supports.⁸ Elaborately worked metal containers and their counterparts in stone abound throughout Roman art.⁹ These elements often relate to the gardens of Roman houses, where an idyllic ambience was created and enhanced with containers in all shapes and sizes. They served as fountains, birdbaths, or mere ornaments, as Pompeian wall paintings repeatedly show.¹⁰ Carved vegetation springing from a vessel also refers to actual gardening methods.¹¹ Reuse of discarded amphorae and various other containers as planting pots had long been practiced in the ancient world. Pliny (*Natural History* 12.16) describes how



8. Detail of a lizard on Pillar A (Figure 2)



9. Detail of a bird with a grasshopper on Pillar A (Figure 2)

earthenware pots were provided with drainage holes for roots. As the plants grew and became pot-bound, the roots extended through the holes and eventually broke the containers.

Symmetry is a primary tenet of Roman art. Thus the craters on the pillars, although now off-center, were originally centered on their respective blocks. At the left of the vessel on Pillar B a branch extends from the handle, and curled tendrils springing from it repeat the spiral of the handle (see Figure 7). Atop this offshoot perches a bird, its head turned backward to snatch an insect whose broad wings and narrow body identify it as a butterfly.¹² At the left on Pillar A a similar tendril issues from the vessel's handle (see Figure 6). This section is so badly damaged that little of the decoration is preserved. What remains suggests a horizontally placed creature, smaller than the bird, with a big head, cylindrical body, and wings slightly open as if in readiness to alight or fly. It is probably a grasshopper.¹³ Equilibrium of design would require additions on the lost sides of both vessels, but while the Romans preferred equal and opposite motifs, compositions with asymmetrical components do occur.¹⁴ Possibly the bird and insect carvings were swapped around on the pillars.

A thick, slightly bent stalk shoots up from each crater's mouth, and this vertical ornament asserts the rectilinear character of the supports. As it ascends, the stem tapers gracefully. Rich sprays of foliage cover the shaft and delicate tendrils spring from it. The trilobe leaves identify the plant as young ivy; in older plants the lobes are less pronounced or disappear. *Hedera helix* is a common evergreen woody

creeper with long, tough stems, clinging rootlets, and fat, blue-black berries that are popular with many birds but poisonous to humans.¹⁵ Interspersed among the carved leaves are corymbs of three to seven large, globular berries set close together to form compact clusters.

Birds, reptiles, and insects discreetly inhabit the tangle of ivy. The avifauna on the two pillars are extremely difficult to identify, because surface erosion has erased much of the detail and because there is no color—so useful in determining species in wall paintings and mosaics.¹⁶ All appear to be songbirds. On Pillar B the bird with a slim body and long tail next to the vessel (Figure 7) could be a song thrush.¹⁷ Above the crater on pillar A a three-toed, slender lizard with a long tail scurries up the foliage, stretching toward a cluster of berries and grasping at a twig with its right foot to gain a grip (Figure 8).¹⁸ Perching farther up, a small, chunky bird, possibly a wren,¹⁹ has seized a grasshopper with tightly folded wings for its dinner (Figure 9).²⁰ The prey is nearly as large as the predator, adding a humorous touch. Higher still, another bird is poised to gobble up a feast of berries that dangle before it (Figure 10); the large, sharp bill, strong body, and long tail suggest a member of the thrush family, possibly a blackbird.²¹

The remains of the left side of Pillar A contain decorative motifs matching those on the front panel: an ivy stalk, foliage, corymbs, and part of a bird, perched obliquely on a branch (Figure 11). At the top outer edge one can also recognize another bird with outstretched wings that pecks at a berry cluster. Because a large section at the bottom of the relief has been lost, it is impossible to know whether the ivy



10. Detail of a bird with berries on Pillar A (Figure 2)



11. Left side of Pillar A (Figure 2), with a bird

stalk sprang from a container, as it does on the other panels, or whether it sprouted from the earth, a motif for which there are numerous examples.²²

On Pillar B a rat snake entwines the central stem; slithering upward, its body coils again around a side shoot (Figure 12).²³ The reptile's goal is immediately apparent: above to the left two fledglings grip the edge of their nest of twigs, which is supported by the ivy vine. With beaks agape and widespread wings, the baby birds screech in terror. Below, their mother flutters her wings, ready to defend her offspring from the predator. They may be a family of robins.²⁴ Proceeding upward, three birds are settled on branches, two on the left, one on the right (Figures 13–15). As they are similar but without any distinguishing marks, these must be generic depictions.²⁵

Although both marbles are heavily eroded, photographs taken before their present installation, together with close examination, reveal that the reverses also originally bore ornamentation similar to that of the front reliefs. There are faint remains of calyx-craters, flanked by creatures, from which sprouted ivy stalks with berry corymbs, their foliage teeming with wildlife. Although most of the individual features and fine detail have been lost, near the top of Pillar B one can still detect the outline of a bird perched on a twig. On Pillar A a snake coils around the central stalk, winding its way upward toward the indistinct shapes of small birds in a nest. From this evidence, we can conclude that the back panels contained iconography similar to that of the front panels, but with notable differences. The designs on the reverse were simplified by the sculptor: there was less



12. Detail of a snake and a birds' nest on Pillar B (Figure 3)

foliage than on the front faces and fewer convolutions of the snake than on the front of Pillar B. Furthermore, when the reptile-with-baby-birds motif was used on Pillar A, it was transposed to the reverse, rather than the face.

The high-quality carved ornamentation of the Metropolitan's ivied pillars would have required as much—if not more—technical proficiency as sculpting portraiture and statuary. Since Roman artisans possessed no blueprints for vegetal ornament on architectural features, a sculptor needed both imagination and resourcefulness to create an appealing and varied design. To capture the subtleties of nature, as well as to compose elements aesthetically, as these pillars do, demonstrates great skill and innovation. Even though he employed identical pots and flora, the creator of the pillars was able to achieve a subtle asymmetry. His overall planning is evident, and he added variety by transposing some motifs of the two main sides of the pillars to the reverses. The artist's knowledge of plants shows in the ivy tendrils that shoot naturalistically from the central stalk and curve upward in numerous directions, with ample spacing between the elements, and the lack of overlap adds to the feeling of both spaciousness and vitality.

Unsurprisingly, the most interesting creatures were sculpted at the lower levels of the pillars, where they could be appreciated easily. But like the best craftsmen, this carver did not skimp: higher up the foliage is still inhabited. The three schematic birds in the upper relief of Pillar B (Figures 13–15) were probably added only for balance and variety; their quiet poses underline their decorative function. Through the simple device of alternation on either side of the central stalk and changing the orientation of creatures,

the sculptor created the impression of greenery teeming with wildlife. He was certainly a very keen observer of nature. Birds feasting on insects reveal his clear understanding of the interdependence and transitory character of life, as manifest in the scenario of a snake menacing baby birds (Figure 12). However, any deep reading of the life-and-death scene in this context is unwarranted. Depictions of the conceit were perennially popular in ancient literature and visual arts, and the vignette is simply a vivid depiction of nature for its own sake.²⁶ The artist expertly captured the agitated movements of the mother bird. By shortening perspective, he showed that she is a bit off-balance, having just alighted on a branch and still fluttering her wings. Her brave attempt to drive the snake away from her vulnerable, frightened nestlings injects dramatic tension into an otherwise idyllic scene, offering a stark reminder that death is always present in the animal kingdom.

The artist's obvious fondness for the sinuous shapes of reptiles is evident in both their detailed carving and their important central positions. While he must have worked from personal observations of reptiles, there is also a definite element of whimsy in their representation. On Pillar A, for example, the lizard's body and tail stretch out full length into a fluid S-curve, echoing the twists of ivy (Figure 8). And on Pillar B one's eye is immediately drawn to the snake featured at its center (Figure 12). The reptile writhes vertically up the stalk, reflecting its natural ability, yet its ribbon-like posture also creates a fanciful, curlicue configuration trailing down the main stem, almost as if it were part of the vine. Affinities in design and floral and faunal ornamentation, together with an attentive scrutiny of wildlife and a



13–15. Details of three birds on Pillar B (Figure 3)



16. Pilaster with a foliate acanthus rinceau (assembled view). Roman, 1st century A.D. Marble, 11 ft. 6 in. x 2 ft. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (3.5 x .7 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1910 (10.210.28)



17. Three pillars from the gardens bordering the Canopus, Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli. Marble; ca. 81 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 9 in. (207 x 23 cm), 95 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (243 x 27 cm), 134 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 15 in. (342 x 38 cm). Museum Room IV (1063, 2627, 423540). Photograph: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome (D-DAI-ROM-1882.1371)

distinctive carving style, confirm that these two marbles are unquestionably by the same master.

The way the artist has emphasized the organic coherence of the ivy adds aesthetic power to his composition. Its strong main stalk bends realistically, and its rough-textured bark is tactile. Offshoots at the front sprout convincingly from the stem, and the delicately graduated carving of the leaves enhances their three-dimensional quality. The sculptor's firsthand knowledge of garden plants has produced the

deeply indented, lobed leaves natural in juvenile ivy, instead of the heart-shaped older foliage so common in Roman decorative art.²⁷ Great care was taken to delineate the central veining of the leaves, and the center of each berry has been pricked with a small hole, exactly where a tiny point would emerge on ivy's real fruit. The young plants and baby birds, together with the birds eating ivy berries, which ripen only in March or April, establish the season of this scene as spring.

Both pillars are worked from *cipollino verde* or Marmor Carystium, a stone characterized by a white or pale green ground, heavily striated with broad, wavy bands of either dark or light green.²⁸ The word *cipollino* suggests the resemblance of the marble veins to the interfoliated markings of a sliced onion. Historically, *cipollino* was called Marmor Carystium because it was first produced from quarries around the port town of Carystos in the southern part of the western Aegean island of Euboea (Evia) in Greece. *Cipollino* was desirable primarily because of its polychrome character; it is durable, but because it contains a significant amount of both talc and mica—friable minerals—it is unsuitable for small sculptures. While this stone was little exploited by the ancient Greeks, for the more flamboyant Romans, sculptures and architectural features crafted in exotic imported *cipollino* became status symbols.²⁹ Under the emperor Augustus and his successors, pillars and pilasters worked from Carystian stone often embellished luxurious and prestigious buildings, such as the emperor's own forum.³⁰ Roman builders showed a preference for carving architectural supports of *cipollino* as monoliths, probably to display the extraordinary swirling patterns to their best advantage. As a rule, pillars were fitted with capitals and bases. Romans preferred contrasting colors, so capitals and bases of white marble often offset shafts of *cipollino*. Vertical white additions bracketing the wavy green marbling and the undulating movement of the carved ivy would have accented the contrast.

The florid taste of the Romans did not leave color and natural pattern to speak for themselves but demanded further enrichment with decorative details. Artists of the early imperial period realized that carved flora could enhance pillars that had been either left plain or articulated only with vertical flutings in classical and Hellenistic times. Marion Mathea-Förtsch has studied in great detail the plant motifs sculpted on pillars and pilasters in both Rome and the western provinces of the empire. Whereas the embellishment of building features with foliage is usually thought to have been inspired by Pergamene art of the second century B.C., Mathea-Förtsch argues for its introduction during the late first century B.C.³¹ Regardless of the exact date of the invention, it was certainly in early Augustan times that ornamenting supports with foliage became established on a large scale throughout the empire.

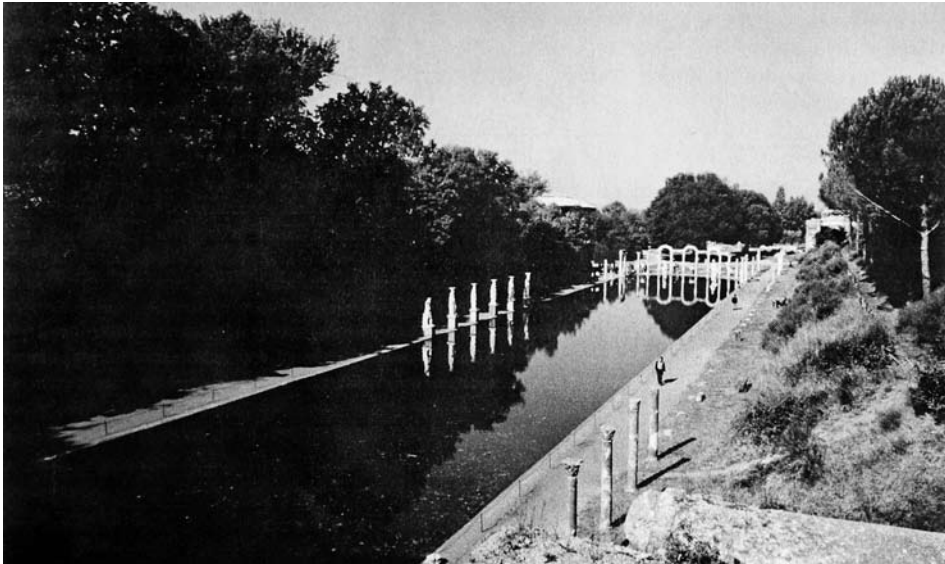
There were no sculptural templates or prescribed combinations of plants for beautifying pillars, but there were some conventions.³² Typically, a single type of vegetation was illustrated, and on only one side of a support. That it contravenes this formula makes the sole use of ivy on all surfaces of both Pillars A and B exceptional.³³ Mathea-Förtsch has divided ancient Roman flora into four basic categories. Within three of these, artifice is the rule; vegetation is depicted not to re-create nature but simply for its ornamental value.

The Metropolitan Museum owns a pilaster that displays such a stylized approach (Figure 16).³⁴ From a clump of acanthus leaves at its base, double-stemmed tendrils rise to form regular opposing scrolls whose tips end alternately with flowers or leaves. The composition is pure artistic invention, since in nature the acanthus plant grows straight up from the ground and does not form whorls.

Clearly, the Metropolitan ivied pillars belong to Mathea-Förtsch's fourth design category, which incorporates plant life in a far more informal and naturalistic manner.³⁵ Precursors, such as realistic trailing grape and ivy vines, exist in both Greek and Etruscan art.³⁶ A few comparisons between the acanthus pilaster (Figure 16) and the twin pillars reveal the extent of the stylistic daring embraced by the fourth sculptural type. Here, the ivy is sculpted to resemble a fresh plant climbing asymmetrically and clinging to stone by its rootlets, just as it would in nature. Its rampant, luxuriant growth is accentuated by the greenish marble that suggests flexible vegetation, visually transforming hard stone supports into lifelike, sensually rich scenes. By contrast, the pilaster's acanthus scrolls crowd the surface, forming rigid medallions at regular intervals. It also has an elaborate border that would have sharply separated the relief from the surrounding wall. The pillars' panels have not been constrained by formalized frames, an artifice that would have fixed the foliage into individual "tableaux." Instead, the ivy appears to "grow" freely, without any boundaries. As a result, the viewer perceives it as real and alive. From the fourth century B.C. on, animal and anthropological inserts increasingly animated carved vegetation, and this trend reached the height of fashion in Augustan Rome.³⁷ On the acanthus pilaster, birds, a lizard, and an Eros are depicted in miniature, so that they remain secondary features of the composition, whereas the fauna on the ivied pillars are realistically represented to scale.

In general, Romans maintained their predilection for systematic splendor, appreciating imitations of natural foliage much less than formalized arrangements. Naturalistic carvings of fruit-bearing plants appeared sporadically on supports until the middle of the first century A.D. and reached the zenith of their popularity under Emperor Hadrian (*Imperium* dates A.D. 117–38).³⁸

To recapitulate, the important elements of the Metropolitan's pillars are their true-to-life depiction of vegetation, high-quality workmanship, absence of drill and grooved work, well-observed realistic fauna, and low-relief carving that fuses flora and fauna with the background to create an aesthetically integrated entity. These characteristics bring the Museum's marbles into close relationship with three pillars found among the ruins of the gardens bordering the Canopus complex at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, about twenty miles from Rome (Figure 17).³⁹



18. View of the grounds of the Canopus, Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli, looking north. Photograph: Jashemski and Salza Prina Ricotti 1992, fig. 2 (photograph by F. W. Luciolli)

Although the provenance of the Metropolitan's pillars is unknown, certain facts point to their origin. Furnishing buildings with elaborately carved subsidiary features was expensive and therefore the preserve of public and imperial buildings. Also, pillars and pilasters were rarely worked in costly colored marbles by master artists, which further argues for a very rich client: either the Roman state or an emperor.⁴⁰ Moreover, these architectural features were seldom adorned with naturalistic foliage.⁴¹ Tellingly, every other surviving example of this decorative type—with the exception of the trio of pillars from the Canopus complex—is stylistically unlike our marbles and of unknown provenance. All the evidence, therefore, points to Hadrian's Villa as the most likely source of the Metropolitan's marbles. Finally, the discovery of all the comparable examples in one locale within Hadrian's vast estate—the Canopus—pinpoints the exact site of the building to which the ivied pillars first belonged.

The find-spot of the three similar pillars of the villa also suggests the original use of the Metropolitan marbles.⁴² Hadrian's Canopus was a banqueting complex with an elongated pool (Figure 18). It occupied a valley whose eastern and western slopes have revealed evidence of elaborate, terraced gardens, which archaeologists believe were dotted with various structures such as pergolas, pavilions, temples, and belvederes.⁴³ Work on the Canopus and its surrounding area dates to about A.D. 126–30.⁴⁴ Since the garden buildings must have been among the final touches to the site, the Metropolitan pillars can be assigned to about 130.

Content often reflects context, and Mathea-Förtsch has argued persuasively that the Tivoli pillars decorated garden building(s) in the extensive pleasure grounds.⁴⁵ The singular use of the same plant species as a motif on marbles of the

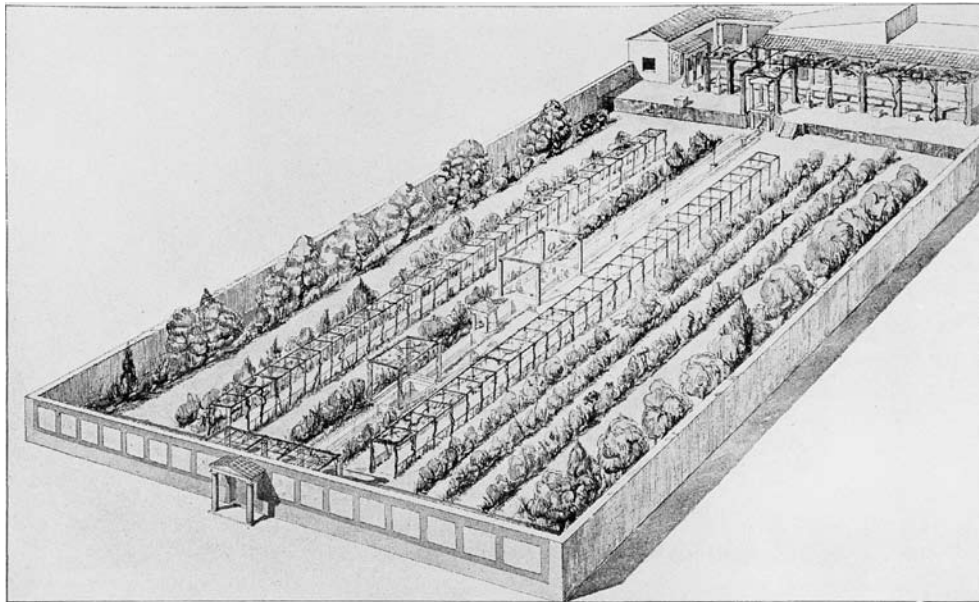
same dimensions, carved from the same stone—and recognizably by the same artist—prove that the Museum's supports were part of a matched set, symmetrically disposed to support an outbuilding in the Canopus area.

Admittedly, neither marble pillars nor pilasters displaying carved foliage have been preserved intact on buildings in the gardens of Hadrian's (or any other Roman) villa, but this dearth of examples may simply be a quirk of survival. Numerous pillars and pilasters with painted decoration and fluting (cheaper alternatives to sculpted ornament) do exist in gardens of private Roman houses, and fragments of supports with sculpted vegetation have also been found among the ruins of other pleasure grounds.⁴⁶ Moreover, small columns and pillars carved with foliage decorated gardens of Pompeian houses, as did painted representations such as the murals of the Cubiculum from Boscoreale—on view in the Metropolitan Museum.⁴⁷

Vine-covered pergolas were prominent features of Roman gardens and were sometimes worked in stone.⁴⁸ Such constructions have been found in the pleasure ground of the House of Octavius Quartio (also called M. Loreius Tiburtinus) in Pompeii.⁴⁹ A watercolor (Figure 19) shows that the enormous garden or *hortus* was transversed by a long canal whose banks were punctuated by small aedicules and pergolas supported by plain columns on four sides (Figure 20). This instance suggests the original function of the Metropolitan pillars: the marbles supported one-half of such a garden building within the extensive grounds of the Canopus.⁵⁰ Such fantasy architecture, of which the Romans were obviously fond, added imaginative elements to the surrounding landscape that were similar in spirit to other buildings at Hadrian's residence. The Tivoli pillars (Figure 17), varying in size, of more modest quality, and of different marble, probably adorned other buildings on the same site.⁵¹

What could have been more appropriate to decorate this bucolic setting than ivy, the sacred plant of the god Dionysus and an emblem of renewal? Indeed, ivy was ubiquitous in Roman gardens, and sculptures of a Dionysiac nature form a leitmotif everywhere in the Roman realm, including the Canopus.⁵² The Tuscan country seat of Pliny the Younger (*Epistles* 5.6.36) contained within the garden a dining area "shaded by a vine trained over four slender pillars of Carystian marble." One can easily imagine the Metropolitan pillars as stone translations of this real-life setting.

For Romans, gardens embodied the love of nature—but nature subdued by the hand of man and brought into his service to provide peace and plenty. Each garden embraced the spirit of its locus, making the setting part of its unique identity. Romans commonly employed painted murals of vegetation on one or more garden walls to create the illusion that a garden was larger than it was in reality. Ornamenting garden pillars with images of the opulent natural world not



19. The garden of the House of Octavius Quartio (also called M. Loreius Tiburtinus), Pompeii. Watercolor. Photograph: Spinazzola 1953, fig. 481

only created a tableau but blurred the boundaries between the real and imagined gardens, rather as contemporary infinity pools and plant-filled conservatories do.

Once removed from their original location, the pillars experienced an afterlife: they were adapted as doorjambes.⁵³ When this happened, they were transposed. The Metropolitan now displays them in their original (correct) positions. Reuse of materials is as old as the arts of construction themselves. Marble was always particularly desirable because of its associations with luxury and status. Thus, over the centuries, the rediscovered site of Hadrian's villa became a looter's paradise rich in sculptures—many of colored stones.⁵⁴

While elegantly carved architectural elements were readily available throughout the Italian peninsula, and amply exploited—a fact to which churches of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages clearly testify—reuse of building components was neither a cheap nor especially easy solution.⁵⁵ Recycling involved extraction, transportation, and trouble for the architects and workmen, who also had to adjust and augment elements to fit their new context. However, the chief challenge of reusing marble lay in safely dismantling it from the original location without damage. The complexity of extracting engaged pillars and pilasters and then reassembling them appropriately may explain their relatively infrequent reuse.⁵⁶ By contrast, the removal of freestanding architectural features such as columns required much less effort, and the results could be impressive. The Metropolitan's ivied twins proved ideal candidates and were therefore translated from pillars to doorposts.

For convenience and speed, stone elements were usually recycled into something already close to their existing dimensions, and the size and shape of the pillars clearly suited them to flank a doorway.⁵⁷ Reused marbles were



20. The garden of the House of Octavius Quartio (also called M. Loreius Tiburtinus), Pompeii. Photograph: Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli e Pompei

often placed in positions of visual and architectural importance. These attractive sculptures, with their multicolored marble and strong projections, would have created a very impressive entry to a prominent building. The neutrality and universal appeal of their vegetal motifs no doubt offered the artisans great scope in choosing their new context.

We have reasonable proof of how the ivied doorjambs fitted to the building and doors of their new home. On the reverses the inner edges were cut back to accommodate the door leaves. The surfaces of the inner sides of the pillars were slightly trimmed and indentations carved at the top and bottom into which metal pivots were fitted (see Figure 4). Because both doorjambs have pivots, it is clear that the door consisted of two leaves, most probably of wood, that swiveled on pins set into holes in the hinges. These pins originally pointed upward and were held in place by round metal collars, a type of hinge that postdates classical times.⁵⁸ The position of the pivots—at the back of the jambs—proves that the door leaves opened inward. The outer sides of the pillars (see Figure 5) were also cut back so as to lie flush with their adjacent walls. Since these sides and the reverses were not meant to be admired, the builders hacked away at the marbles indiscriminately. The rough finish indicates that they probably abutted a surround of coarse material, such as rubble or ashlar.

Crude dismemberment of building elements is easy; looting and destruction ignore the integrity of works and their details. And so it was with the ivied pillars. When they were installed in their second location, the workmen proved indifferent to aesthetics. The present position of the pivots demonstrates that the marbles were placed upside down. If the pivot pins also faced downward, hanging the door leaves would have been almost impossible. More important, the weight of the doors would have dragged the hinges out of true and eventually caused the leaves to sag and fall off. Imagine the ivy carvings inverted, with the calyx-craters at the top of the panel and fauna ludicrously dangling upside down. Clearly, the workmen were uncomprehending, and one is also forced to wonder about the taste of the marbles' new owner.⁵⁹

When the pillars' inner faces were sliced away, the design symmetry of the front reliefs was destroyed. Either there was total disregard for overall appearance or the fragile cipollino split and suffered loss when the panels were sawn. Perhaps the capitals and bases of these supports were considered superfluous to their new use and thus discarded.

Further interference on the pillars reveals that the marbles did not end their days wrong way round framing a door. They had a tertiary use, and it is to this phase that the other amendments and additions belong. What functions the pillars later served is impossible to say. The differences in their treatment demonstrate different uses, but as the marbles

were eventually purchased together, they must have remained united at each site. Roughly treated areas of the pillars could also suggest that, at some later date, the marble was scavenged yet again for its fine material. Once the pillars ceased to be thought of as skillfully worked objects and were viewed merely as a commodity, their value lay solely in the quality of the marble. Cipollino was precious, and even small fragments may have been reused, perhaps for colorful mosaic tesserae in pavements.

The Metropolitan Museum's two ivied pillars illustrate the great value Romans placed on decorating their state or imperial buildings, and even quite minor garden structures. On these examples, the masterly carvings of flora and fauna cleverly echoed their original setting, evoking the pleasures of *al fresco* sight and sound. On these elegant twin pillars, the Roman desire for grandeur was tempered by the artist's subtlety and the refined taste of Emperor Hadrian to create marbles whose ingenious decoration, subtle color, and matchless quality continue to delight viewers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In preparing this text I have greatly benefited from the knowledge and common sense of Barbara Barletta, Amanda Claridge, Joan R. Mertens, Mary B. Moore, and Jude Roland. I am particularly grateful to Richard E. Stone for his lucid on-site analysis of the varied history of the pillars.

NOTES

1. Richter 1921, p. 14; "Classical Accessions" 1922, pp. 34, 35; Richter 1930, p. 228.
2. See Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 82.
3. Past literature (the accession reports and the label accompanying their present display) describes the marbles as pilasters. For the distinction between pillars and pilasters, see Ginouvès 1992, pp. 63–65.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 63n40.
5. Three-sided supports make up less than 4 percent of the total number of examples listed in Mathea-Förtsch 1999.
6. For the vessel shape, see Hilgers 1969, pp. 52–53, 156–59, no. 119. For examples of ornamented metal calyx-craters, see Pernice 1925, pp. 37–42, pl. XIV.
7. Compare the lower fragment of a pillar in the Magazzino Olearie, Museo Nazionale, Rome (inv. 112. 29; Mathea-Förtsch 1999, pp. 21, 157, no. 162, pl. 61, 3).
8. See the calyx-craters on a pillar (I.N. 1745) in the Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen, and on a fragment (S 113) in Sir John Soane's Museum (*ibid.*, p. 124, no. 60, pl. 87, 3; p. 128, no. 74, pl. 43, 2).
9. Comparable is a well-preserved marble calyx-crater (the foot is a modern restoration) with additional vegetal embellishment around the body in the Museo Capitolino, Rome (Galleria no. 31a, inv. 275; Grassinger 1991, pp. 189–90, no. 32, figs. 208–10).

10. A crater with sculpted figural reliefs around the bowl was used as a fountain and placed in a pool in the largest villa in Torre Annunziata near Naples. See De Caro 1987, pp. 96–97, no. 11, figs. 13, 45, and Jashemski 1979, pp. 311–14, fig. 480. See also the many garden paintings included in Jashemski 1979, pp. 55–82, and the catalogue of garden paintings and mosaics derived from garden representations in Jashemski 1993, pp. 313–404, app. 2.
11. For evidence of planting pots found in gardens of Pompeii, see Jashemski 1979, p. 240, and Jashemski and Salza Prina Ricotti 1992.
12. See a butterfly on the southern floral frieze of the Ara Pacis (Castriota 1995, fig. 27) and an image of a bird with a winged insect in its beak on a fragment in Sir John Soane's Museum (S 82; Mathea-Förtsch 1999, pp. 127–28, no. 73, pl. 93, 4). For butterflies, see Larew 2002, pp. 319–22, no. 4, order Lepidoptera.
13. Compare the forms and positions of two examples of the insect on wall paintings in Ciarallo and De Carolis 1999, pp. 58–59, fig. 7c,d.
14. See, for example, a wall painting in the House of Venus Marina (II.iii, 3) of a tree growing from a vessel. On one side a bird is perched, while on the other side one flies away (see Jashemski 1979, p. 65).
15. For ivy, see Baumann 1993, p. 87, fig. 160; Glaser 1997; and Jashemski, Meyer, and Ricciardi 2002, pp. 113–14, no. 63.
16. Matteucig (1974) has identified fifty birds on the frieze of the Eumachia building in Pompeii, but most of his identifications are questionable. For studies of the avian world, see Tammisto 1997 and Watson 2002. Watson takes a more critical approach to identifications.
17. See Watson 2002, pp. 398–99, no. 69, *Turdus philomelos* (song thrush).
18. A similar lizard is depicted on the south floral frieze of the Ara Pacis; see Castriota 1995, fig. 26. For the *Lacertia* species, see Bodson 2002, pp. 334–35, order Squamata: lizards and snakes.
19. See Watson 2002, p. 398, no. 67, *Troglodytes troglodytes* (winter wren).
20. For grasshoppers and crickets, see Larew 2002, pp. 322–24, no. 5, order Orthoptera. Compare the depictions of birds teasing grasshopper-like insects on the portal frieze on the building of Eumachia, Pompeii, in *ibid.*, pp. 318, 324, figs. 259, 271.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 397–98, no. 68, *Turdus merula* (blackbird).
22. See, for example, a pillar formerly in the museum in Velletri, in Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 193, no. 277, pl. 98, 1.
23. The rat snake, *Elaphe longissima*, is a skilled climber (Bodson 2002, pp. 335–37, fig. 283, suborder: serpents, snakes).
24. Watson 2002, p. 378, no. 31, *Erithacus rubecula*.
25. For want of better terminology, any birds too generalized to identify amid the populated foliage on Roman decoration are usually called starlings or blackbirds; see Mathea-Förtsch 1999, pp. 18–19.
26. Examples span a wide chronological and topographical range. For a perceptive discussion of the theme in Greek and Latin literature and art, see Ghisellini 1988. Two traditions account for the subject's origin and popularity. In literature, it harks back to a passage in the *Iliad* (2.305–30) prefiguring the downfall of Troy. This venerable source found resonances in later ancient authors. The theme also exemplifies the ancients' interest in recording observed phenomena in the natural world in the spirit of Aristotle. The subject was very adaptable in its iconography and import. Ghisellini offers various interpretations of the motif according to context.
27. Compare the standardized heart shape of the ivy on a pillar fragment in the Vatican (Galleria Chiaramonti XXVI 14, inv. 1593; Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 162, no. 180, pl. 87, 2).
28. In a note of August 17, 1993 (MMA archives), Lorenzo Lazzarini identified the marble type. For *cipollino verde*, see Lambraki 1980, with a list of ancient literary sources. Some finished or partly finished columns were abandoned in many of the quarries; see *ibid.*, p. 57, fig. 22, for a map of the sites. See also Gnoli 1988, pp. 181–86; Lazzarini et al. 1995; Marchei 2001, pp. 202–3, no. 56, s.v. *cipollino*; and Lazzarini 2002, pp. 257–58. A map in Lazzarini 2002, p. 264, illustrates the locations of the most important quarries of colored marbles used by the Romans. See also Lazzarini and Sangati 2004, p. 93, fig. 37, “cipollino verde marmor carystium, marmor styrium.”
29. By the first century B.C., colored marble was being used to outfit houses and villas of the rich in Rome, and Pliny (*Natural History* 36.48) informs us that the first house in the metropolis to be adorned with only solid marble columns, some of *cipollino verde*, was that of a certain Mamurra, a knight from the town of Formia, who had served as Julius Caesar's chief engineer in Gaul.
30. Gnoli 1988, p. 182.
31. Kraus (1953, pp. 64–76) believed that Roman floral decoration derived directly from models in Pergamon, dated to Hellenistic times. In contrast, see the examination of the dating issue in Mathea-Förtsch 1999, pp. 28–43. On the basis of stylistic development, Mathea-Förtsch dates the examples from Pergamon to the last quarter of the first century B.C., when the reconstruction of the city began, and argues that their source was urban Roman architecture.
32. As a rule, pillars display three different types of compositions. The sides usually contain simple, matching candelabra; the front and back panels show plants with more decorative detail (see Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 6).
33. Only a small group of surviving pillars display the same plant on the two main panels and on both sides (*ibid.*, p. 193n1994, with examples).
34. See MMA 1987, frontis., pp. 126–27, no. 196; Mathea-Förtsch 1999, pp. 7n81, 133–34, no. 96, pl. 20, 1, 2; and Castriota 1995, pp. 48, 50.
35. For the category of the two Metropolitan pillars, see Mathea-Förtsch 1999, pp. 15–16, pls. 92–99, 1, 2. Doorposts often show the same iconography with foliage issuing from drinking vessels; see, for example, Mazzei 1982, p. 15, no. 1, 19 (without inv. no.).
36. Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 15nn173,174.
37. For the theme and development of this motif, see Toynbee and Ward-Perkins 1950 and Ovadia and Turnheim 1994. The repetition of similar layouts and individual images presupposes the frequent use of pattern books. See also Mathea-Förtsch 1999, pp. 17–21, who divides the fauna into two groups. One type depicts them at rest; the second relates to hunt scenes.
38. Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 59.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 182–84, nos. 244, 245, 247, pls. 92; 93, 1–3; 96, 1–3; Opper 2008a, p. 232, nos. 115, 116 (inv. nos. 1063 and 423540); p. 156, fig. 141 (a new photograph of inv. no. 1063). See also Mathea-Förtsch 1999, pp. 57–59 (an analysis of Hadrianic stylistic features); Moesch 1999, p. 242, no. 82; Moesch 2000, pp. 204–5, no. 20; and Opper 2008b, pp. 66–67. In support of a Hadrianic date, compare the sculpting of the grape leaves on two of the pillars with those on the panel of Antinous-Silvanus, signed by Antonianos of Aphrodisias, now in the Banca Romana, Rome (inv. no. 418 A; Mathea-Förtsch 1999, Beilage 20, 2).
40. Pillars and pilasters of colored stone are the exception. Mathea-Förtsch (1999, p. 64) cites the few examples.
41. The main catalogue in Mathea-Förtsch 1999 lists 277 examples. Of these, only 14 pieces are carved with realistic flora.
42. For a description and the building history of the Canopus complex,

- completed after A.D. 133, see MacDonald and Pinto 1995, pp. 108–16; Grenier 1999, pp. 75–77; Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, pp. 241–63; Manderscheid 2002; and Hales 2003, pp. 83–90.
43. Excavations in 1987–88 on the west side of the adjacent landscape revealed that between planting beds—at the level of the scenic canal and the base of the walls that enclose the valley—was a series of intermediate terraces with supporting walls. For the gardens, see Salza Prina Ricotti 1987, pp. 175–78; Jashemski and Salza Prina Ricotti 1992, pp. 579–84; and Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, pp. 369–75. For the flowerpots found in the Canopus area, see Salza Prina Ricotti 2000. The area has been only superficially excavated.
 44. Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, pp. 249–56.
 45. Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 94.
 46. *Ibid.*, pp. 93–95, with reference to examples of garden buildings with painted pillars. Two pillar fragments were found in the Gardens of Maecenas (*ibid.*, pp. 149–51, nos. 138, 141, pls. 87, 5; 88, 1).
 47. Fragments of small columns and pilasters decorated with foliage adorned Roman gardens; see De Caro 1987, pp. 120–23, nos. 35–42, figs. 32–39. See also examples of small decorated pilasters in Seiler 1992, figs. 533, 534, no. 3, 554–56, no. 7, 558, 559, no. 10, 566–69, no. 13, 587, no. 23, 625, no. 50. The House of the Vettii (VI.xv.1) also has decorated columns in the garden (Jashemski 1993, pp. 154, 156, fig. 176). Peristyle F of the House of the Gilded Cupids (VI.Xvi.7) has painted and fluted columns (Seiler 1992, figs. 236–40). There are columns with foliage in the murals of the Villa Poppea, Oplontis (de Franciscis 1975, pp. 34–35, fig. 23; Lehmann 1953, pl. XIII).
 48. A group of pillar fragments from Cherchel, Algeria, are decorated on four sides and are of modest sizes. Scholars have suggested that they originally supported a small lightweight structure such as a pergola. See Fittschen 1979, pp. 241–42, 472–77, pls. 45–47, and Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 104, no. 2, fig. 79, 1, pp. 116–17, nos. 36, 38, 39. See also the catalogue and discussion of the various types of pillars from Cherchel in Pensabene 1982, pp. 150–63.
 49. Jashemski 1993, pp. 78–82, no. 133 (II.ii.2); Adam 1999, pp. 309, 311–13, fig. 718.
 50. For the vast size of the Canopus gardens, see Salza Prina Ricotti 2001, p. 370, fig. 134.
 51. The widths of the three pillar parts from Hadrian's Villa are preserved, showing that they varied in size. Mathea-Förtsch (1999) gives their approximate dimensions: no. 244: W. 10⁵/₈ in. (27 cm), H. 95⁵/₈ in. (243 cm); no. 245: W. 9 in. (23 cm), H. 81¹/₂ in. (207 cm); no. 247: W. 15 in. (38 cm), H. 134⁵/₈ in. (342 cm).
 52. One pillar from the Canopus (inv. no. 423540) contains Dionysiac paraphernalia, suspended from vine tendrils: cymbals, a pedum (shepherd's crook), a Pan mask, and two *cistae*, or sacred baskets (Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 184, no. 247, pls. 92, 1; 93, 1–3). For Dionysiac imagery in the Canopus, see Slavazzi 2000, p. 63, and Adembri 2000, pp. 81–84, 201, no. 18.
 53. For good introductions to the topic of the reuse of antiquities, see Kinney 2001, Hansen 2003, and Kinney 2006.
 54. For the fortunes of the resort complex after Hadrian's death, see MacDonald and Pinto 1995, pp. 197–330. For an overview of the colored marbles found there, see Salvatori, Trucchi, and Guidobaldi 1988 and Adembri 2002.
 55. For an excellent discussion on the practical problems of recycling marbles, see Rockwell 1993, pp. 192–96.
 56. Recycled pilasters decorated the Oratory of Pope John VII (A.D. 705–7) in Old Saint Peter's. The six vertical panels from pilasters (five are ancient; the sixth is contemporary) were applied to the walls (Brandt and Eggebrecht 1993, vol. 2, pp. 123–25, no. III-8). Ancient pilasters were also set into entrances in the Palazzo Lazzaroni in Rome; these marbles are unbroken and relatively unscathed (Mathea-Förtsch 1999, p. 158, no. 165, pl. 78, 4). For reused pilaster capitals in the Eastern and Western Empires, see Kramer 1994, pp. 65–72.
 57. The entrance of the southern facade of the Lateran Baptistery shows two reused pilasters flanking columns (Hansen 2003, pp. 70–73, fig. 49). For encasing doors, the easiest solution was the wholesale transfer of an ancient door surround. The main entrance of the west facade of Santa Sabina on the Aventine consists of a portal frame from a classical building (*ibid.*, pp. 26–27, figs. 10, 11). The doorframe of a building usually called Temple of Romulus, situated on the Forum Romanum, was also appropriated from another context (*ibid.*, pp. 41–42, fig. 18). Other examples are the main doorway of Santa Maria della Libera, Aquino (de Lachenal 1995, p. 175, fig. XVI.1). For the surround in Sant'Ambrogio, Milan, see Mathea-Förtsch 1999, Beilage 16, 3–5. Alternatively, doorposts could be assembled from ancient building materials. The northern entrance of Santa Sabina has jambs consisting of upended architrave blocks with a soffit forming the lintel (Brenk 1996, p. 50, figs. 1, 2).
 58. The date of introduction of the type of hinges on the Metropolitan marbles is unknown. For the different types of ancient door pivots and terminology, see Ginouvès 1992, pp. 55–56, pls. 24, 25. For examples of postclassical doors, see Schmitz 1905 and Jeremias 1980.
 59. Incongruous placement of recycled architectural features are known. The architrave of the “Porta del Paradiso” on the Duomo, Salerno, consists of an ancient doorpost, complete with crater, placed horizontally. See Mathis 2003, pp. 56–60, no. 18, figs. 18a–c.

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A Twelfth-Century Baptismal Font from Wellen

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A little-known baptismal font at The Cloisters—a large circular Romanesque basin ornamented with a frieze of semicircular arcades and four large, projecting male heads supported by blind arches with tubular bases (Figures 1–5)—is a particularly fine example of twelfth-century bluestone sculpture from the Belgian section of the Meuse Valley that merits greater attention.¹ Moreover, the original provenance of the Museum’s font can now be definitively established, thanks to stylistic, material, and documentary evidence.

The Cloisters font was purchased for The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1947 from the Joseph Brummer collection in New York. It had previously belonged to a Belgian collector, Major Lambert, whose 1926 sale catalogue cites an otherwise unspecified Limburger provenance.² In 1957 Lisbeth Tollenaere reproduced and discussed a photograph of a font (Figure 6) identical with the distinctive example at The Cloisters that she described as a “font of undetermined provenance,” despite numerous indications that it was from Wellen.³ The photograph was taken before 1922 by a local photographer and historian, Achille Thys (1903–1986), according to Tollenaere in the “cloister” of Saint-Trond. The location was not the old Limburger abbey there, however, but another monastery in Saint-Trond.⁴ By the time Tollenaere reproduced the photograph of the font in 1957, the piece had long since left Saint-Trond.

Tollenaere’s analysis of Thys’s photograph makes it possible to trace the origin of the Cloisters basin. The ancient commentary she cites corresponds with what we know from other sources about Romanesque baptismal fonts of the type in Thys’s photograph, which like the one in The Cloisters has a Limburger provenance. It was in a monastery in Saint-Trond for a time, then was sold off discreetly, shortly before the font now in The Cloisters appeared on the art market in 1926. There is every reason to believe that the two fonts are one and the same.

In 1890 the Redemptorist monastery of Saint-Trond obtained from Henri Lenders, who was a priest in the nearby Limburg village of Wellen between 1879 and 1911, the basins of two deconsecrated baptismal fonts that had been in the old cemetery behind the Church of Saint-Jean-Baptiste there. One was a round Romanesque basin with four projecting heads; the other was the octagonal bluestone basin that had replaced the first font in 1780, before it was replaced in turn by the copper font that Father Lenders installed in 1892.⁵

The Redemptorists were no doubt particularly interested in the older of Wellen’s two fonts because of its connection with the famous mystic Saint Christina Mirabilis, or Christina the Admirable or the Astonishing (Brustem or Saint-Trond, 1150–Saint-Trond, 1224), whose relics had been in the monastery’s possession since 1836.⁶ Saint Christina’s biographer, Thomas de Cantimpré, recalled that she had plunged into the baptismal font of the Wellen church,⁷ a possibly legendary act that, he wrote, subsequently had a very beneficial effect on the saint’s behavior and general civility: “One day when she was violently troubled by a spirit, she happened to enter the church in the village of Wellen and came upon and opened the baptismal font, in which she completely immersed herself. It is reported that after she did so her manner of living in society became more moderate, she behaved more calmly, and was more tolerant of contact with men and of living among them.”⁸ The Romanesque font brought to the Redemptorists of Saint-Trond in 1890 is the one referred to in Christina’s *Vita*; the monastery restored it and placed it on a new shaft and base in its church.

In the archives of the Redemptorists, among the miscellaneous receipts for 1922, we find, for the month of August: “sale of the baptistery, 2,300 francs” (approximately 2,680 euros), representing the rector’s apparently unpublicized sale of the piece to fund a recent expansion and restoration of the church.⁹ The recent discovery among the same archives of a photograph of the Wellen font installed in the ancient abbey alongside the altar of Saint Christina (Figure 7) proves definitively that it is the font



1. Baptismal font. Wellen, Limburg, Belgium, 1155–70. Bluestone; h. 15½ in. (39.4), overall diam. 51 in. (129.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection (47.101.21)



Details of Figure 1:

2

3

4

5

now at The Cloisters.¹⁰ Given the closeness in time between the 1922 and 1926 sales and the accepted Limburger provenance of other baptismal fonts in Major Lambert's collection,¹¹ Lambert may well have been the 1922 purchaser of the Wellen font.

The identification of the baptismal font at The Cloisters with the one from Wellen permits observations about its treatment and changes in its material condition since it was recovered in the late nineteenth century. In Wellen in 1890, only the basin of the original Romanesque font survived; it was damaged and a large piece had broken off. An eyewitness from Wellen told Dr. Jozef Michiels of this very noticeable breakage, which had been observed even before 1890.¹² The wear on the Cloisters font clearly resulted from prolonged exposure to the elements, possibly from as early as 1780 until the late nineteenth century. Thys took his photograph during his youth, slightly before the 1922 sale, and this confirms that the supports—the shaft and base—were reconstructed after 1890 at the Redemptorist monastery of Saint-Trond. After the Lambert sale in 1926 the supports were gone. It must have been in Saint-Trond, too, that the bowl and upper surface of the basin were lined with lead, making it possible to use the bowl once more. The Cloisters font was placed in the Fuentidueña Chapel in May 1961, when the chapel was opened to the public. Today, the lead liner no longer completely covers the interior of the basin.

A new wood support has been fabricated for the Cloisters font that is meant to emulate what was probably the design of the original stone support: a central shaft with four colonnettes on a square base.¹³ A wide, sloping cyma under the slightly flared basin allowed it to fit into its shaft, which was cylindrical, like the four colonnettes that support the projecting bases under the prominent heads. The line of the lower double lip of the basin is not strictly horizontal, and the upper molding consists of a cyma of variable height and a thin, damaged torus. A frieze of semicircular arcades surrounds the basin, with smaller blind arches above tubular bases supporting the heads. The double moldings of the arches spring from impostes on the capitals of the colonnettes. The impostes are either trapezoidal or shaped like cats' or bears' heads; on the capitals, the vegetal decoration rising from the corbels is either bifoliate or ribbed. The spandrels between the arches are adorned with palmettes fanned out in a festoon, or, occasionally, folded down. Some of the bases of the colonnettes are composed of a torus on a plinth, but most are small quadruped protomes.

The basin is complete, but along with deterioration from the elements and the loss of its original supports, it displays signs of long-ago wear, and certain projecting elements, such as the noses, have broken off (see Figures 2–5). A lateral crack on the exterior at the level of the capitals threatens to split the beards of two of the projecting heads. The



damage displayed on the basin is typical of pieces of this kind and so is probably ancient. The surfaces of the thick curb of the basin, the upper molding, and the top of one of the heads are the most eroded. Other breakage includes nicks on the lower edge, under the basin, and on the astragals of several of the heads' bases. The molding below one of the arcades is gone, and two other arches and the molding above them suffered the most severe damage.

Along with the fanciful animal decorations on the arcades, the four projecting male heads are the first elements that catch the viewer's eye (Figures 2–5). All wear beards and mustaches; the wavy hair, parted in the middle, is delicately rendered and seems to issue from the font. The ears are reduced to crescent-shaped upper lobes at the temples. The wide mouths, stretched tight between the long, drooping points of the mustaches, have thin, pursed lips. Two of the beards are carefully combed straight (Figures 2, 5), while the other two end in curls. The abundant hair on

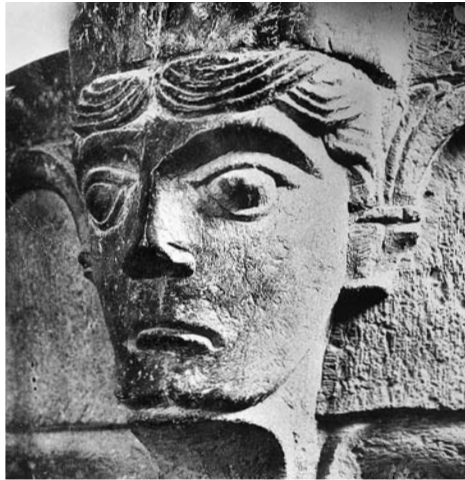
6. Photograph of the font shown in Figure 1 taken in Saint-Trond before 1922 by Achille Thys and published in Tollenaere 1957, pl. 32B



7. Photograph of the font shown in Figure 1 in the ancient Church of the Redemptorists at Saint-Trond. Photograph 5 1/8 x 7 in. (13 x 17.8 cm). From the archives of KADOC, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (FKZ 135/41)



8. *Mystère d'Apollon* tympanum, ca. 1155–65, detail of the head of Labor. Mosan limestone. Le Grand Curtius, Liège. Photograph: Jean-Claude Ghislain



9. Baptismal font, detail of head. Church of Saint-Willibrord, Eisden, Limburg, Belgium. Photograph: Jean-Claude Ghislain

two of the heads is striated and framed by two wavy, elegantly turned-up locks (Figures 3, 4). The most striking physiognomic features, however, are undoubtedly the enormous, rimmed, bulging, spherical eyes.

This frieze of arcades is the decoration most commonly found on fonts from the Meuse Valley. Originally used on square fonts from Tournai, it was transposed in various permutations onto cylindrical furnishings like the Cloisters font. The most complete program includes human figures standing in the arcades, after the manner of early Christian sarcophagi, a formula that propagated the image of Christ accompanied by the apostles.¹⁴ This configuration also appears on a richly embellished square fragment of a font from the Meuse region, said to be from Merksem, today a suburb of Antwerp.¹⁵ The indirect funerary reference has been associated insightfully with those passages from Saint Paul's Epistles to the Romans (6:4) and the Colossians (2:12)¹⁶ that—beginning with the Church Fathers Saints Ambrose (339–397) and Augustine (354–430)—were applied to baptism by immersion,¹⁷ still widely practiced with newborns in the Romanesque period.¹⁸ The animal protomes on the plinths of the colonnettes on the Cloisters font are unique to it and represent an Italian Romanesque architectural motif that was adopted in the Meuse region.¹⁹

In the *Ordo romanus*, the ritual of blessing the baptismal water alludes to the four rivers of Paradise—the Gehon, the Phison, the Tigris, and the Euphrates—that “water all of the earth,” like the waters of holy baptism.²⁰ In early Christian iconography, the rivers of Paradise, associated with the Evangelists in the prayers of Saint Cyprian (ca. 200–258) and by Saint Augustine in the *City of God*,²¹ issue from human or lions' heads. The four human heads on the Cloisters font are homogeneous enough in design to permit an interpretation of them as personifications of the rivers of Paradise, but the diversity among the heads on a number of other fonts prevents any such generalization.²² Despite their rather reassuring features, the heads may also have served an apotropaic function.²³

The Cloisters basin is an example of the prolific production for export of Romanesque baptismal fonts in the Meuse region. They were made of local stone, often called “Namur stone” though it is also quarried extensively between Dinant and the Liège region. No documentation on the quarries and workshops in the area at the time has come to light. The international trade began before the mid-twelfth century with fonts made from the prestigious black marble of Tournai and continued later with works by other producers to the east. Production was not limited to Tournai and the Meuse region, but in the absence of any focused and thorough study there is still much confusion about the various traditions, and the chronology remains arbitrary.²⁴ This was a primarily artisanal enterprise that became gradually more industrialized, and in the process productivity took precedence over creativity. Only a few pieces were notable for their sculptural qualities. The font in The Cloisters is clearly one of these, by virtue of its ample proportions, the richness and originality of its decoration, and above all the expressive power of the faces, which are treated with refinement.

Ever since the Cloisters font was first exhibited and published, its material and general typology have suggested an origin in the Meuse Valley, with certain stylistic elements even specifically recalling the manner of Limburg.²⁵ Tollenaere has drawn comparisons with other liturgical furnishings,²⁶ but we have found that the font displays elements of a broader tradition specific to the Liège area. This tradition includes a group of carefully executed baptismal fonts, and its principal stylistic reference is the *Mystère d'Apollon* tympanum at the Grand Curtius in Liège (Figure 8).²⁷ In addition to this group—to which the Cloisters font belongs—the core works in the Liège group include the baptismal fonts with circular basins in the Church of Saint-Willibrord in Eisden, Limburg (Figure 9), the Church of Saint-Remy in Mesnil-Église, Namur (Figure 10), and the Church of Saint-Pierre in Saint-Trond, Limburg (Figure 11), all in Belgium. The Damouzy font in the Church of Saint-



10. Baptismal font. Church of Saint-Remy, Mesnil-Église, Namur, Belgium. Photograph: Alain Purnode

Rémi in the French Ardennes (Figure 12) and a head from a font in the Bonnenfanten Museum, Maastricht (Figure 13), also belong to this group. In Belgium, examples of the square type are the fonts in the collegiate church of Ciney, Namur (Figure 14), and in the Church of Saint-Pierre in Gingelom, and the fragments from Gors-Opleeuw at the Civic Museum in Tongeren, Limburg. Finally, two very similar fonts, one in the Church of Notre-Dame de l'Assomption

in Seraing, Liège (Figure 15), the other in the Church of Saint-Martin in Tessenderlo (Limburg), represent an intermediate type, that is, circular fonts with protomes of projecting lions surmounted by square lips.²⁸

The carvers of this group of works shared with the sculptor of the Cloisters font a penchant for moldings and especially cymas, blind arcades with or without colonnettes, and spandrels with fanned palmettes. Arcades with



11. Baptismal font, detail of head. Church of Saint-Pierre, Saint-Trond, Limburg, Belgium. Photograph: Jean-Claude Ghislain



12. Baptismal font, detail of head. Church of Saint-Rémi, Damouzy, Ardennes, France. Photograph: Jean-Luc Collignon



13. Head from a baptismal font. Bonnenfanten Museum, Maastricht. Photograph: Timmers 1971, fig. 444



14. Baptismal font. Collegiate church, Ciney, Namur, Belgium. Photograph: Alain Purnode



15. Baptismal font. Church of Notre-Dame de l'Assomption, Seraing, Liège, Belgium. Photograph courtesy of the Archives Centrales et Laboratoire, Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique, Brussels (B28270)



16. Head of an old man of the Apocalypse, ca. 1140. Fragment of a figure from the west portal of the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. Limestone, $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (24 x 15 x 16 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York



17. Sacrifice of Abraham capital, detail of three angels symbolizing the Holy Trinity. From the Abbey of Saint-Médard, Soissons, France, 2nd quarter of the 12th century. Musée de Soissons. Photograph: Depouilly 1960, fig. 3

double scrolls and bases in the shape of animal heads belong to a twelfth-century regional architectural formula,²⁹ but certain ornamental details on the Cloisters font relate more specifically to the molded arches of Mesnil-Église (see Figure 10) and their decorated bases, similar to those in nearby Ciney (see Figure 14),³⁰ in the Namur region, but also like those in Eisden, in Limburg. Some of the palmettes in the spandrels of the arches in Eisden fold down, as they do on the Cloisters font.

It is the heads, however, that distinguish the Liège manner. The most striking facial features on the Cloisters font are the large, protruding, sometimes bulging eyes with sagging lower lids, traits that appear even on the lions' muzzles in Ciney (see Figure 14), Seraing (see Figure 15), and Tessengerlo. The male heads also have the typical wavy locks turning up on the sides,³¹ another characteristic that associates the faces on the Cloisters font—the only bearded instances in this category—with the head in Maastricht (see Figure 13).³² We might also include the figure of Labor on the tympanum of the *Mystère d'Apollon* (see Figure 8), the most important example of the entire Liège group. Other examples are the font in Damouzy and the heads wearing pillboxlike hats in Eisden and Saint-Trond (see Figures 12, 9, 11).

Raspi Serra attributed the Maastricht head (Figure 13) to an Italian sculptor,³³ but it is more illuminating to compare it to heads from the triple west portal of the royal Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (see, for example, Figure 16).³⁴ We know that the portal was integrated into the facade, and that the facade was dedicated in 1140.³⁵ Much of the portal's stylistic eclecticism remains to be studied, but it seems that Mosan sculpture had no influence on Abbot Suger's renovation projects, unlike the case of Mosan masters in metalwork and glass. However, artisans from Tournai delivered sculptures to Saint-Denis,³⁶ adopting in return certain stylistic elements.³⁷ As for the large-eyed heads with chiseled wavy locks on either side, there is also evidence in France of influence from Picardy on Mosan sculpture, on the Sacrifice of Abraham capital from the Abbey of Saint-

Médard in the Musée de Soissons.³⁸ These features are especially noticeable on the three angels symbolizing the Holy Trinity on that remarkable work from the second quarter of the twelfth century (Figure 17).

There is no evidence of bluestone carving in Maastricht or Limburg, but geographical and historical considerations, combined with their artistic motifs, support a Liège origin for the group of works to which the impressive font at The Cloisters belongs. From this standpoint, the figure in the *Mystère d'Apollon* tympanum (see Figure 8), which is classical and pagan in inspiration, is key. The production of the group as a whole is confined to the diocese of Liège, with the exception of the Damouzy font (see Figure 12), which recalls the spirituality of the diocese of Reims. Two of the most representative fonts are in situ in Ciney, in the Condroz, and Mesnil-Église, in the powerful seigneurie of Revogne in Famenne, two major outposts of the ecclesiastical principality of Liège, opposite the hostile county of Namur (see Figures 14, 10). The font in Ciney's collegiate church dates to the restoration of the building, following its destruction in 1150 by Henry the Blind, comte de Namur. As for Revogne and its fortress, the seigneurie was purchased shortly before 1154 by the great bishop of Liège, Henri de Leez, who made it a provostry.³⁹ Three other parishes notable for their fonts were wholly within the Liège sphere of influence: that of the Church of Notre-Dame de l'Assomption in Seraing, just outside Liège, and those of the churches of Saint-Pierre in Gingelom and Saint-Martin in Gors-Opleeuw, both in Limburg.⁴⁰

The baptismal font from Wellen identified at The Cloisters is an important and characteristic example of Romanesque sculpture in Mosan limestone from the Liège production. It belongs to the tradition of models from the Namur region,⁴¹ and its projecting heads display a French stylistic influence as well. Historical evidence, the elaborate style, and the careful execution allow us to assign it a date after 1155, but earlier than the later Romanesque style of Liège sculpture that first emerged about 1170.⁴²

NOTES

1. My warm thanks to William D. Wixom, chairman of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters at the MMA until he retired in 1998, who in 1985 sent me the documentation on the Meuse font in The Cloisters. On the font, see Anonymous 1962, pp. 121–22, fig. 121; Randall 1962; Rorimer 1963, p. 42; Little 1987, pp. 164–65, no. 13, figs. 13–15; Young 1988, pp. 12–13, ill.; Wixom 1999, p. 57, ill.; Ghislain 2005, vol. 1, “Études,” pp. 212–13, figs. 345–47; and W. A. Stein in Little 2006, pp. 104–5, no. 39, ill.
2. The font in The Cloisters, identifiable by its diameter, is described as follows in the catalogue of the Lambert sale (1926, lot 138): “Baptismal font. The basin, decorated with four masks, stands on a base with quadrilobe ornaments. Tournai stone, twelfth century; H. 1.00; diam.

1.05. Limburg.” It should be noted that at that time the upper surface of the bowl was lined with lead. Two other Limburger baptismal fonts from the Lambert collection went to American museums: lots 135 and 136 are in the Duke University Art Museum (1966.154), Durham, N. C., and the Williams College Museum of Art (40.10), Williamstown, Mass., respectively. The basin of the former is in the Romanesque style, whereas the latter is polygonal and Gothic. Both are of bluestone, probably from the Meuse region, but not from Tournai, as the 1926 sale catalogue mistakenly indicates for the Cloisters basin as well. The erroneous attribution of this dark material to Tournai was once common for this type of bluestone work.

3. Tollenaere 1957, pp. 52, 140, 306, pl. 32B (Saint-Trond: “Fonts de provenance indéterminée, conservés dans le cloître; . . .”). The entry does not specify the cloister and therefore appears to remove the font from its context. The term “cloister” may be a literal translation of the Flemish *klooster*, which means “monastery.” The author knew nothing of the piece’s history or of its acquisition by The Cloisters ten years earlier. She indicated that the supports were new. Tollenaere had neither seen the font in Saint-Trond nor verified the old information she reported regarding the print from Thys’s negative. In a letter of January 6, 2007, Tollenaere told me that the picture taken by Thys that she reproduced was in a photographic collection of the department of art history at the Université Catholique de Louvain, though her publication locates the photograph at the A.C.L. (Archives Centrales et Laboratoire, Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique) in Brussels. The A.C.L.’s collection of photographs at the Institut Royal, which contained no negatives, was dispersed more than thirty years ago. The collection at the Université Catholique de Louvain, which was transferred to Louvain-la-Neuve during the same decade, is presently inaccessible. In 1982 Danny Janssens, a student at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, relayed to me his recent conversation with Thys himself, who confirmed Tollenaere’s information but did not specify where in Saint-Trond he had photographed the font or provide any historical clues to the work. While Thys also acknowledged that he had the negative of the photograph reproduced by Tollenaere, he did not cooperate further with Janssens’s investigation, invoking his advanced age and the great number of his images. I thank Janssens for sharing Thys’s statement with me. Janssens was unaware of the Lambert collection and mistakenly located the piece at the Saint-Trond abbey, which led him to abandon the intermittent, scattered trail of the provenance of the Cloisters Mosan font. He describes the problem in his unpublished master’s thesis in art history and archaeology (1985, vol. 2, p. 134).

The silence maintained throughout by such a privileged witness as Achille Thys is both noteworthy and revealing. In his various published commentaries on the monastery of the Redemptorists, with whom he was on friendly terms, this usually prolix author never mentions the Romanesque font, nor did he publish his photograph. (Fortunately, Tollenaere had independent knowledge of it.) It may be that Thys was thereby distancing himself from the font’s removal and sale.

4. Saint-Trond’s former Catholic high school has been housed in the ancient abbey since 1842. Monsignor Hubert Kesters (1895–1979), its director, assured me in 1969 that the font reproduced by Tollenaere was never located there. He acknowledged, however, that he was aware of the problem, without clarifying further. In the last century, the old Redemptorist monastery in Saint-Trond was the most renowned in the city.
5. Venken 1993, p. 306. It is surprising how casually the interested parties disposed of these ancient liturgical pieces. The commune of

Wellen in the province of Limburg is part of the arrondissement of Tongeren. The Limburger abbey of Munsterbilzen exercised the right of patronage and tithing collection for the parish of Wellen, originally dedicated to Saint Bridget; see Helin 1981. The famous twelfth-century portal of sculpted tufa of the Church of Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Wellen, which has a Romanesque tower, is very worn and unrelated to the fonts in Visean limestone (“Parochiekerk St. Jan-de-Doper,” in *Bouwen door de eeuwen heen* 1999, pp. 459–63). The ancient Wellen fonts were unknown to Lisbeth Tollenaere, even though their transfer to Saint-Trond is related by Michiels 1950, pp. 93–94. Dr. Jozef Michiels (1877–1969) did not know of the font in The Cloisters, previously in Saint-Trond. However, he did recall that the Romanesque font of Wellen was once equipped with a lid, cited in 1658, and an earlier tin lining of the bowl was mentioned in 1726.

6. Daris 1891, p. 58n1. The relics of Christina the Admirable were entrusted to the Redemptorists in Saint-Trond in 1836, not 1838, as Daris states.
7. The saint’s immersion supposedly occurred between 1182 and 1186 (*ibid.*, pp. 56–57), but the *Vita* does not respect rigorously the chronological order of events.
8. Thomas de Cantimpré 1868, p. 654: “Factum est enim die quadam, ut agitata a spiritu vehementissime, ad ecclesiam quadam in villa, quae dicitur Guelleir confugeret, inventoque aperto fonte sacro baptismi, illi se totam immergeret, Quo facto, hoc inibi dicitur consecuta quod contemperatio, ex tunc fuit modus ejus vitae hominibus, quietiusque habuit postea, et melius pati potuit odores hominum, et inter homines habitare.” Recent English translations are King 1986 and King and Wiljer 1999, pp. 42–43. The inventive hagiographer based this episode of the *Vita* on statements he gathered at Saint-Trond eight years after Christina’s death from the nuns of the Benedictine convent of Sainte-Catherine. On the *Vita* of Christina the Admirable, see also Nimal 1899, Willems 1950, and Coens 1954. In the hamlet of Overbroeck in Wellen, there is a chapel of unknown origin dedicated to Saint Christina.
9. The archives of the Redemptorists of Saint-Trond are in Louvain at the KADOC (Katholiek Documentatie en Onderzoekscentrum-K.U. Leuven); register 4.1.3.1.8.1/3 contains the receipts and expenditures for the years 1920–23. The sale is under the rubric “Miscellaneous” for receipts for 1922. I would like particularly to thank Paul Vanden Bavière for his help with my research on Wellen and on the monastery of the Redemptorists at Saint-Trond. J. de Borchgrave d’Altena (1933, p. 8) deplored the 1922 sale of the Romanesque font from Wellen but did not know who purchased it. He had his information from the priest and dean of Tongeren, J. Paquay, who also noted that the Redemptorists restored Wellen’s Romanesque font. Finally, Michiels (1950, pp. 93–94) reports that, according to an unfounded rumor spread before World War II, the Redemptorists had sold the font to English archaeologists, after which it was supposedly acquired by the British Museum in London. The renovated church of the Redemptorists was consecrated in 1921 by the bishop of Liège, Monsignor Rutten. As Michiels recalls (p. 94), the polygonal font from Wellen could still be seen after World War II in the garden of the Redemptorists in Saint-Trond. Thus, unlike the Romanesque font with its modern shaft and base, it had not been sold. The community of the Redemptorists was transferred to Louvain in July 1965, and their monastery in Saint-Trond was demolished in December 1975.
10. As this study was about to be published, Willem Driesen, librarian of the town of Saint-Trond, alerted me to the discovery of the photograph by Camille Vanlangendonck. I am particularly grateful to these two researchers for this decisive information. The document

- is in a file dedicated to Christina the Admirable (FKZ 135/41) in the holdings of the Archief van de Vlaamse Redemptoristen, KADOC, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. The yellowed photograph is glued to cardboard and bears the handwritten inscription “Fonds [sic] Baptis. S. Christine S Trond.” The location of the font in Saint-Trond is summarized in a handwritten note signed by the Redemptorist priest M. Janssens and dated July 10, 1964 (file 4.1.3.1.7.4).
11. See note 2 above.
 12. Michiels 1950, p. 93.
 13. P. Donis analyzed the font in 1961 at the Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique in Brussels (see his letter in the files of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, MMA). The limestone, from the lower Visean, contains foraminifers and microfossils and displays white lines of calcite.
 14. Concerning the Tournai tradition, we know of a fragment of a square basin with blind arcades from the Church of Saint-Chrysole in Comines (Nord, France), and another (now lost) was in the former Museum van Oudheden (Broelmuseum), Kortrijk, Belgium. There are also the fonts of East Meon (Hampshire, Great Britain) and Montdidier (Somme, France), the vanished font of Neuf-Berquin (Nord, France), and the restored font with medallions from Gondécourt (Nord, France) at the diocesan museum in Lille. There are series of human figures in arcades on the fragment from Spiennes and on the lost fragments from Binche (both cities in Hainaut).
 15. The fragments of this font, which was produced in a workshop in the Namur region, are divided between the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire in Brussels (SC.31) and the Treasury of the Basilica of Saint-Servais in Maastricht. See Ghislain 1982. The fragments from the A. D. Bloemsma collection in Haarlem were acquired in 1994 for the collection of the Church of Saint-Servais (den Hartog 1992, pp. 116–20).
 16. Romans 6:4: “For we are buried together with him by baptism into death; that as Christ is risen from the dead by the glory of the Father, so we also may walk in newness of life” (DV); Colossians 2:12: “Buried with him in baptism, in whom also you are risen again by the faith of the operation of God, who hath raised him up from the dead” (DV).
 17. Nordström 1984, pp. 21–23, 44.
 18. Schoolmeesters 1908, pp. 3–5, 99–101. The subject is also treated by Avril 1996, pp. 98–100. See also Malherbe 1951, pp. 34, 38, 51–52, 61, 63–65.
 19. Den Hartog 1992, pp. 99–132; den Hartog 2002, pp. 50, 97, 359–61, 524–26; Hardering 1998, pp. 109–11. We should remember that these servile but maleficent creatures could be dangerous. Nordström (1984, p. 132) cites an inscription on the English Romanesque font in Stafford, which is supported by lions. The text (*Discretus non es si non figus, ecce leones*) advises passersby to keep away from the beasts.
 20. *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 78, “Romani Ordines,” 21, cols. 1015–16, and 42, col. 956.
 21. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, col. 1110, and vol. 31, col. 395.
 22. Even if we consider only the category of Romanesque bluestone fonts, the types of heads frequently vary on a single example. Not all heads are male, and the hairstyles and head coverings also differ. Hence we find, in addition to lion protomes, female faces and turbans, caps, pillboxlike hats, wreaths, miters, tonsures, and even a helmeted Saint George (Jeuk, Belgian Limburg). The four rivers of Paradise are designated in the Vulgate (Genesis 2:10) by the Latin term *capita* (heads), which expresses in the medieval idiom their primordial importance (*Biblia sacra iuxta vulgata versionem* 1983, p. 6).
 23. Zimmermann 1954, p. 482.
 24. A group of fonts in Picardy display the influence of Tournai but used imported Mosan stone; see Ghislain 2007. The most recently published essay on the subject is Drake 2002, pp. 39–46. The author followed the method used in Pudelko 1932.
 25. This view goes back to Randall 1962.
 26. Tollenaere 1957, pp. 217, 298.
 27. See Ghislain 1995, p. 76. For another examination of the group, presumed to be from Liège, see also Ghislain 2005, vol. 1, “Études,” pp. 210–18, figs. 323–62. On the *Mystère d’Apollon* tympanum in Liège, see Philippe 1964, Halleux 1994, and Lemeunier 2009, p. 65, ill. The *Mystère d’Apollon* was executed in Mosan limestone, Leffe facies, from the Dinant/Sovet region (Tourneur 2007, p. 808).
 28. The font of the Church of Notre-Dame de l’Assomption in Seraing was recarved in the nineteenth century, perhaps in 1843, the date of the brass cover. See Van de Castelee 1877, pp. 203–4, and pl. 8 on p. 195; Tollenaere 1957, pp. 52, 130, 140, 150, 217, 309, pl. 34B (which shows the font in Tessengerlo, not the one in Seraing, as indicated); and Van Gehuchten [2007], pp. 8–9, ill.
 29. Regarding two monuments sometimes cited on this subject, it should be noted that the dwarf gallery of the Church of Saints Nicolas-et-Pierre in Saint-Trond is a modern reconstruction (1867–85) and that the cloister of the collegiate church of Tongeren, also largely restored, was reworked in the Gothic period.
 30. Tollenaere 1954, pp. 60–61, ill.; Tollenaere 1957, pp. 52, 130, 140, 172, 217–18, 236, 298, pl. 35B.
 31. Compare the hair with that of the Christ in Majesty on the west altarpiece of the Church of Saint-Servais in Maastricht (ca. 1150–60); see den Hartog 2002, pp. 406–7. Den Hartog also illustrates the Christ on a capital from the same period (destroyed), from the east transept of the Rhenish abbey church of Essen. The sculptures in Essen were studied by F. Broscheit (1989, p. 27, fig. 2), who also reproduces (p. 33, fig. 11) a capital of about 1160–70 at Wartburg Castle, Thuringia, that displays the same type of hair. A later example, of about 1230, appears on a console from the choir of the Saint Mary church in Gelnhäusen, Hesse. It is reproduced in Hammann-MacLean 1937, p. 45, fig. 20. In Liège, there is a hairstyle with broad, overlapping waves on the large capital recovered on the site of the Cathedral of Saint-Lambert (ca. 1165–70); see Lemeunier 1996, pp. 101–6, pls. 30, 32.
 32. Little 1987, pp. 164–65; den Hartog 2002, pp. 528–29.
 33. Rasi Serra 1970, pp. 27–28.
 34. Little 1987, pp. 164–65; Aubert 1950, pp. 57–58, nos. 52–56, ill.
 35. Jacobsen and Wyss 2002.
 36. Ghislain 1993, pp. 176–78. On the first examples discovered at Saint-Denis, see Johnson and Wyss 1995. Other pieces from Tournai have come to light more recently at Saint-Denis (Wyss 2008).
 37. Zarnecki 1986, pp. 167–68; Ghislain 1993, pp. 164–82; Kusaba 1993, pp. 69–79.
 38. Depouilly 1960, pp. 157–59, figs. 1–3.
 39. Bormans and Schoolmeesters 1893, p. 73, no. 44; Némery 1967, p. 37; Kupper 1981, p. 430.
 40. The seigneurie of Seraing belonged to the prince-bishop of Liège, who made the village his country residence. The chapter of Saint John the Evangelist in Liège held the right of patronage and collecting tithes in Gingelom, from which it amassed significant property in 1157, while the Benedictine abbey of Saint Laurent in Liège held the rights of collation and tithes in Gors-Opleeuw (Hasquin 1980, pp. 1364, 2019–20, 2029–30).
 41. Ghislain 2009, forthcoming.
 42. Ghislain 2000, pp. 145–48.

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A Venetian Vignette One Hundred Years after Marco Polo

ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER

Dedicated to Joan and Paul Bernard

Among the many remarkable objects shown in the exhibition “Venice and the Islamic World 828–1797,” held at the Institut du Monde Arabe, Paris, and the Metropolitan Museum in 2006–7, was an illustration in *Li livres du Graunt Caam* (The Book of the Great Khan), a manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Bodley 264) that is a copy of a fourteenth-century French prose text illuminated in Paris (British Library, Royal 19 D.I).¹ The Bodley manuscript is one of some one hundred fifty known versions, in Franco-Italian, Tuscan, Venetian, German, Latin, and French, made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from the lost text of the famous *Travels of Marco Polo*, also called *Il milione* (A Million) or *Le livre des merveilles* (The Book of Marvels), which was composed in French or Franco-Italian by Rustichello of Pisa from accounts he reportedly heard from Marco Polo (1254–1324) while they were both being held prisoner in Genoa in 1298.² The splendid illumination on folio 218r of Bodley 264 (Figure 1), frequently reproduced but rarely discussed in detail, depicts the departure of the young Marco Polo, his father, Niccolò, and his uncle Maffeo from Venice in 1271.³ The miniature can be ascribed to an English master who signed the miniature on folio 220 of the manuscript *Johannes me fecit*. The style suggests a date of 1400–1410.

Experienced merchants, the elder Polos had spent several years doing business out of Soldaia (Sudak), on the Crimean coast of the Black Sea (see Figure 2), where they had owned a house since the 1250s.⁴ Soldaia was a major emporium of Italian, specifically Venetian, traders who exchanged their own Western products—mostly metals, glass, linen, wool, and silk cloth—for raw materials and goods—grains, hides, wax, furs, raw and finished silk, condiments, carpets, slaves—from all over the Mongol realm, from the Golden Horde in the Kipchak steppe to the Ilkhans in Persia to the great commercial centers in Central Asia such as Samarkand and Bukhara.⁵

In 1260 the Polos were on the move, trading in jewels at Sarai on the Volga, the residence of Berke, Khan of the Golden Horde. They went on to Bukhara, where they stayed for three years because war had broken out between Berke and the Ilkhan Hülegü, both grandsons of Genghis Khan. In Bukhara, they were asked to and did join an embassy from Hülegü to the Great Khan.⁶ In 1266 the brothers finally reached the Mongol imperial court in Shangdu, where they soon won the confidence of Khubilai (r. 1260–94), yet another grandson of Genghis Khan. Having first occupied northern China, by 1279 Khubilai had wrested the south from the Song Dynasty, reunifying the vast empire and establishing the Yuan Dynasty. In 1269 he entrusted the Polos with a mission to the pope requesting one hundred skilled missionaries, together with oil from the lamp that burned in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem.⁷ Khubilai may have felt the need to engage potent foreign experts, whom he perhaps expected to be magicians, to control the restive country and intimidate his enemies.⁸ As shamanists, the Mongols’ attitude toward foreign creeds was indifferent; they were concerned only that the various beliefs prove themselves strong and useful for the khan’s purposes. Rather than relying solely on Chinese bureaucrats whose loyalty might be questionable, Khubilai gathered Confucian scholars, Tibetan Buddhists (perhaps the khan’s favorites because of their “expertise in magic”), Daoists, Muslims, Jews, and Nestorians and other Christian denominations at his court and in his administration. The task assigned to the Polos had nothing unusual about it.

Though the Polo brothers were able to use the imperial relay post, the trip back was arduous enough. On reaching the Mediterranean at the port of Layas (in the gulf of Iskenderun, or Alexandretta), they learned that Pope Clement IV had died in November 1268. The brothers decided to wait out the interregnum at home in Venice, but when it lasted ever longer, in 1271 they resolved to return to the Great Khan to apprise him of events. This time, Niccolò’s seventeen-year-old son Marco accompanied them. Gregory X was made pope in 1271, while he happened to be serving



1. Johannes. *The Departure of the Polos from Venice*. England, ca. 1400–1410. Tempera and gold on parchment, 16 x 12 in. (40.6 x 30 cm). The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Bodl. 264, fol. 218r

as archdeacon in Acre in the Holy Land. There the Polos, now on their second voyage, consulted him shortly before his election. They also succeeded in obtaining the oil from the Holy Sepulcher.

It has often been remarked that the bird's-eye view of Venice depicted in the miniature in the Bodley manuscript (Figure 1) cannot have been based on a personal knowledge of the city but is rather an imaginary reconstruction from hearsay, possibly reports from eyewitnesses or pilgrims, cast in the artistic conventions familiar to an English miniaturist of the early fifteenth century.⁹ The two Oriental granite columns bearing the statues of the Eastern saint Theodore the Dragon Slayer, first patron of Venice, and of the winged lion, symbol of Saint Mark, who became the protector of the Serenissima after his relics reached the city, allegedly in A.D. 828, are accurately placed in the *piazzetta*, quite close to the water's edge.¹⁰ Yet they do not face the *piazzetta* as they should, and Saint Theodore appears in the guise of the winged archangel Michael, a figure more familiar to Western viewers. While the positions of the Palazzo Ducale and Saint Mark's, the state basilica, are fairly exact, their architecture bears no relation to reality. It is only the two arcades—the upper one delicately lacy—that gird the turreted castle and the four bronze horses on the balcony of the adjacent building that signal the identity of the palace and the basilica. Most likely these details were highlighted in the written and painted sources that guided the miniaturist Johannes.



In typical medieval fashion, the leave-taking and departure of the Polos is narrated in sequential scenes. Having left the Piazzetta San Marco via an arched stone bridge, the Ponte della Paglia, the family is shown surrounded by friends on the Riva degli Schiavoni (Figure 3).¹¹ Young Marco, with short-cropped hair and wearing a cinnabar-colored outfit that includes hose and shoes, stands listening to a group of youths.¹² The white-bearded and hatted man in pale pink, which the catalogue of the 2006–7 exhibition identifies as

2. Soldaia (Sudak), Crimea (Ukraine), view from the north. Photograph: Elfriede R. Knauer

3. Detail of Figure 1



4. Detail of Figure 1



Marco,¹³ is in fact Marco's father, Niccolò. Marco's uncle Maffeo, who has doffed his hat to reveal his still chestnut hair, is barely visible behind his older brother and can be identified in the group of elderly citizens only by his pale mauve hose and shoes. The young man with a ewer on the bridge may be offering the Polos a farewell cup. The next scene (again, see Figure 3) shows Maffeo in full as the Polos gallantly board a barge across a rickety plank and wave good-bye to their friends, old and young. The threesome is seen for the last time in a cog under full sail leaving the safety of the Canale di San Marco for the open waters in the company of two more ships (Figure 4).¹⁴

Two more manned cogs and a galley with close-reefed sails are anchored in the canal. Their pennants indicate the

direction of the wind that also bellies the sails of the Polos' vessel and its companions. In the galley's aft is the customary open cabin of the commander or guest of honor, often, as here, covered with a precious textile.¹⁵ Above this group of vessels, a barge emerges from under the Ponte della Paglia on the Rio di Palazzo, propelled with two oars by a standing hooded figure in gray—a gondoliere *avant la lettre*. One of the thole-pins, the pole of the oar, and the eddy caused by the blade are visible in the enlarged detail (Figure 3).

At the lower edge of the miniature, just below the anchored ships in what is presumably the Canal Grande and to the left of the little Gothic church in the position of present-day Santa Maria della Salute, is an intriguing device that is never mentioned in the discussions of the scene (see



5. A domesticated great cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo*) on the Lijiang River, Guanxi, China, 2005. Photograph: Miguel A. Monjas



6. Cormorant fishing on Eir Lake near Dali, Yunan, China, 2006. Photograph: Frédéric Lemaréchal, alias Maboko (license: Creative Commons Paternité)



7. Vittore Carpaccio (Venetian, ca. 1455–1523/26). *Hunting on the Lagoon*, ca. 1490–95. Oil on panel, 29¾ x 25⅞ in. (75.6 x 63.8 cm). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (79.PB.72)



8. Top: Vittore Carpaccio. *Hunting on the Lagoon* (Figure 7).
Bottom: Vittore Carpaccio, *Two Venetian Ladies on a Balcony*, ca. 1490–95. Oil on wood, 37 x 25¼ in. (94 x 64 cm). Museo Civico Correr, Venice. Photograph: Scala / Art Resource, New York

Figure 4).¹⁶ Wooden stakes have been driven into the mud of the shallow waters to form a circular enclosure with a substantial perch inside, an installation that to my knowledge is unparalleled in Western painting, either of the period or later. In a prominent position and rendered as meticulously as any other object in the miniature, it must have had a purpose that made sense to the illuminator and his audience. The duck and two gulls next to the enclosure are to scale, but the disproportionately large swans that cruise and feed in the canal next to the Polos' embarkation warn against taking the representation of wildlife in the image too literally.

The low salinity of the upper Adriatic provides ideal living conditions for a multitude of wildlife, fish as well as birds, especially during the migration periods. I propose

that the contraption in the miniature is a pen for cormorants, specifically for the great cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo*), a member of the large family Phalacrocoracidae, the only cormorant with a white throat (Figures 5, 6).¹⁷ Excellent divers, swift underwater swimmers, and voracious eaters, these sociable birds thrive in both salt- and sweet-water habitats, and their distribution is almost universal. Because the glands they, like other aquatic fowl, possess to oil themselves with a water-repellent substance are extremely small in cormorants, the birds tend to sink once afloat.¹⁸ Just the necks and heads remain visible, which facilitates diving but every so often requires that they carefully dry their plumage in the sun, with wings spread wide. Cormorants are easily domesticated, but to prevent them from escaping their wings must be clipped and they must be kept in pens either

on land or, as our miniature seems to suggest, in watery coops; both methods require their being carried to and from work. Their home in the canal, as shown in the view of Venice in the Bodley manuscript, seems a logical solution, since much of the city's life did and still does take place afloat.

Another, much better known image of Venetian customs, or rather upper-class diversions, offers a clue to the services domesticated cormorants provide to their masters. Vittore Carpaccio's *Hunting on the Lagoon* of 1490–95 in the Getty Museum in Los Angeles (Figure 7) shows the upper segment of a panel that was discovered to be part of the famous painting *Two Venetian Ladies on a Balcony* at the Museo Civico Correr in Venice (Figure 8).¹⁹ The somewhat enigmatic deportment of the youths who stand in the seven barges, each slowly propelled by two oarsmen with a black-amoor steering, was explained only recently. Perched quietly on the edges of the boats are several cormorants, and more of the well-trained birds are in the water, diving and capturing fish (two of which are draped over the prow of one of the boats on the left). To spur the birds' return aboard and make them disgorge the catch they store in their extendable gullets, the youths hit them with bow-propelled earthenware pellets. The elegant outfits of the young men demonstrate the elite character of the activity. The outing will find its festive conclusion in the reed huts on an island in the marshes of the lagoon seen in the background, where the catch will be consumed, stag party fashion, with no ladies present. On a rooftop terrace in the lower portion of the painting the fair sex waits—visibly bored—for the return of the youth, or at least for a page to deliver a note from them.²⁰

What made the correct interpretation of the scene so difficult until now is Carpaccio's intentional disregard of the

messier part of the activity—the emptying of the cormorants' gullets and the gutting of the catch—which would have seriously disturbed the balance and serenity of his unparalleled painting. For his contemporaries the telescoping of sequential events posed no difficulty; Venetians of the day must have enjoyed the mildly ironic juxtaposition of the activities that Carpaccio's panel so masterfully reflects. The Getty's *Fishing with Cormorants* (the painting's proper title) suggests that before becoming a pastime for the leisure class cormorant fishing must have served a more practical purpose, perhaps not on a commercial scale but to satisfy the needs of families. The contraption shown in the view of Venice that Johannes created to embellish Marco Polo's *Milione* may provide the answer. The pen in the Canal Grande, as unobtrusive and run-of-the-mill as the women shopping at the butcher's in the piazza,²¹ attests to fishing with cormorants as an accepted and effective way of providing the city with food almost a century before Carpaccio depicted it. But when and from where was it introduced?

The international character of the Mongol empire, where commerce was much encouraged and foreign religions were tolerated, attracted to China not only Western merchants but also Latin Christian missionaries, primarily Franciscans and Dominicans. Promoted by Rome and welcomed early on by the Muslim Ilkhans in Persia, the priests established convents and churches that served the Italian communities and were points of departure for missionary work. An archbishopric was established in Sultania, the capital of the Ilkhans, in 1318. By 1325 colonies of mainly Genoese Italian merchants served by friars and bishops existed in Zaiton (today Quanzhou), Yangzhou, and Hangzhou along the south coast of China. Trans-Asian commercial activities were much curtailed when the Khans of the Golden Horde embraced Islam in the 1340s. Soon after, the Italian emporia and with them the monastic houses at Tana at the mouth of the Don²² and Caffa, or Feodosiya, on the Crimea (see Figure 9) were wiped out by the Kipchak Khan. At the end of the fourteenth century, Timur's reign in Persia rang the death knell for many Christian establishments. In China, Khubilai's successors favored Tibetan Buddhism, and the fall of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty to the Ming in 1368 added to the withering of commercial ties across an increasingly insecure Asia.²³

Though the so-called Pax Mongolica lasted not much more than a century, the Christian ambassadors and missionaries who undertook the arduous trip to the East, either by land or by sea, left many precious reports on the Mongol realm. Unlike Marco Polo's *Milione*, which was aimed at a different public, their accounts often evince a modern ethnographer's acuity.²⁴ Marco Polo himself never mentions fishing with cormorants. The first known description of the practice was written by the Franciscan Odorico Matiusi,

9. Inside the Genoese fortress of 1266 at Caffa (Feodosiya), Crimea, Ukraine. Photograph: Elfriede R. Knauer

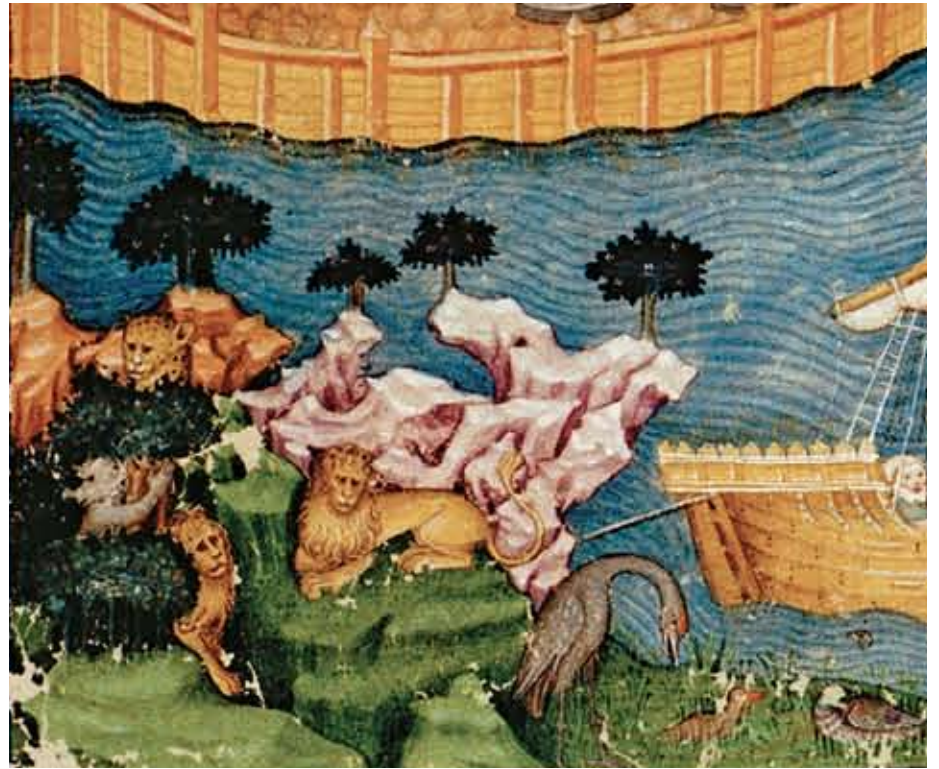


better known as Odoric of Pordenone (1263–1331), who was buried in Udine and beatified in 1755. A native of Friuli, Odoric visited Persia, India, Central Asia, and China over a period of twelve years and upon his return to Padua in 1330 dictated his *Relatio* to a fellow brother, William of Solagna.

I came to a certain great river, and I tarried at a certain city which hath a bridge across that river. And at the head of the bridge was a hostel in which I was entertained. And mine host, wishing to gratify me, said: "If thou wouldst like to see good fishing, come with me." And so he led me upon the bridge, and I looked and saw in some boats of his that were there certain water-fowl tied upon perches. And these he now tied with a cord round the throat that they might not be able to swallow the fish which they caught. Next he proceeded to put three great baskets into a boat, one at each end and the third in the middle, and then he let the water-fowl loose. Straightaway they began to dive into the water, catching great numbers of fish, and ever as they caught them putting them of their own accord into the baskets, so that before long all the three baskets were full. And mine host then took the cord off their necks and let them dive again to catch fish for their own food. And when they had thus fed they returned to their perches and were tied up as before. And some of those fish I had for my dinner.²⁵

At which city and river Odoric witnessed cormorant fishing is unknown. That his Latin *Itinerary* had already been much copied and translated by early in the fourteenth century—there are Italian, French, and German versions—attests to great contemporary interest. His may not have been the only testimony, however, for after his return he himself mentioned conversations in Venice with people who had also visited China.²⁶ Word of mouth may have contributed to the rapid spread of the efficient new fishing method, and the almost universal distribution of cormorants must have enhanced its acceptance in much of Europe. Yet proof for this assumption comes only from much later sources.²⁷ The hypothesis that the Bodley miniature might be the earliest Western attestation so far of this highly sophisticated and efficient activity may one day be confirmed by other documents. In any case, late medieval works of art, large or small, deserve to be scrutinized more painstakingly for telling *realia*.

The strange assemblage of beasts shown in the lower left corner of the miniature (see Figure 10) also merits further consideration. Pale brown and gray rocky outcrops define an otherwise lush, wooded promontory. The single trees implausibly perched on the crags recall the highly stylized landscapes in late Byzantine art. Venetian painters persis-



10. Detail of Figure 1

tently adhered to Byzantine models even after Renaissance precepts had already taken root in the city, and this may be yet another hint of the miniaturist relying on images based on Venetian formulas, albeit mediated ones.²⁸ The strangest feature of the scene, greatly blemished by a loss of pigment, is the top part of a nude human figure who seems to be reaching for a fruit in the tree above. Nearby, a pair of lions and a leopard rest peacefully while a huge bird appears to inspect two smaller ones nested in the grass. Unlike other Italian municipalities in the late Middle Ages, Venice is not known to have kept a collection of exotic animals within its territory. Leonardo Olschki has suggested that the creatures may allude to the unexplored regions of the earth the Polos intended to visit, just as on somewhat earlier *mappae mundi* such empty spaces are frequently enlivened with images of predators: *hic sunt leones*.²⁹

Carpaccio's mysterious *Meditation on the Passion* of about 1510 (Figure 11) is instructive in this regard. Of modest dimensions and clearly a devotional painting, it shows the dead Christ poised on a broken marble throne, flanked by Job on his left and Saint Jerome on his right. The Hebrew inscription engraved on Job's cubic seat—"but as for me I know that my redeemer liveth" (Job 19.25)—was taken by Jerome in his *Moralia in Job*, written in the Holy Land, as prefiguring the resurrection of Christ. Jerome is shown here in the guise of a hermit. A wealth of iconographical details have been astutely interpreted with respect to their christological allusions. The bird rising behind Christ's throne is

11. Vittore Carpaccio. *Meditation on the Passion*, ca. 1510. Signed: *vjctorjs carpattij / venettj opus*. Oil and tempera on wood, 27³/₄ x 34¹/₈ in. (70.5 x 86.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, John Stewart Kennedy Fund, 1911 (11.118)



recognized as portent of his reappearance.³⁰ Of special interest in this context are the two contrasting landscapes in the background: on the left is a rocky wilderness that looks as though it was at some point converted by man into a burial ground but has since been neglected and taken over by wild animals. A doe grazes on the lowermost outcropping, unaware of the stag being felled by a leopard farther up the cliff, and at the top a wolf lurks in a cave, perhaps the mouth of hell.

On the right of Carpaccio's painting, in an otherwise serene view of the piedmont, a leopard pursues a deer on the hither side of a brook crossed by a rickety bridge. Beyond the stream is a fortified settlement that could be anywhere in the foothills of the Dolomites, and yet this is the Orient, as only beturbaned figures inhabit the scene. The Holy Land was certainly thought of as the home of wild beasts in late medieval times.³¹ Though the leopard was also the favorite status-enhancing participant in the hunts of Islamic and Mongol royalty and their retainers, and Italian artists were perfectly well aware of this fact,³² Carpaccio endowed these creatures with a symbolism both sinister

and redemptive that is rooted in the Bible, specifically in the book of Job.³³ He showed the leopard in pursuit of a stag, the age-old Christian metaphor of the human soul.³⁴ And the painting must also be seen as symbolic of Christianity at risk of falling prey to the infidels.

It was hardly accidental that in Venice at that time a fresh, intense movement toward a more personal religiosity arose from the unfulfilled yearning for a reformed church, which Rome failed to offer. The "global" perspective of the Venetian merchant aristocracy made the city's residents more susceptible to the fundamental questions of faith and the human condition raised by ever mounting calamities, as devotional paintings such as Carpaccio's *Meditation on the Passion* attest. In the first decade of the sixteenth century, when this panel was most probably painted, the powerful Serenissima was suddenly faced with enormous challenges. She lost the terra firma to the forces of the League of Cambrai that united the German emperor, France, and the pope against her, and the constantly renewed Ottoman attacks menaced her possessions in the Eastern Mediterranean and on the Dalmatian coast.³⁵ The anguish and the

hopes of those troubled times seem to pervade Carpaccio's painting.

By contrast, in the Bodley miniature the serene wild beasts on a shaded promontory in company of the First Man appear to reflect a paradisiacal though distant world, the exploration of which held out promise to Italian monks and merchants, both spiritually and materially, in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.³⁶ The promise was owed to the Pax Mongolica, an all too brief interval of relative calm and prosperity.³⁷

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am most grateful to Katharine Baetjer for facilitating the publication of Carpaccio's *Meditation on the Passion* and to Joan R. Mertens for her unfailing help in giving shape to this piece.

NOTES

1. Carboni et al. 2007, p. 299, no. 15, with previous literature. See also Pächt and Alexander 1973, p. 70, no. 792, pl. LXXV, and Dutschke 1998. For an English translation of the text, see Yule (1903) 1993.
2. See Lerner 1999, chap. 4, "The Making of the Book," pp. 68–87.
3. Carboni et al. 2007, ill. p. 58, cover ill.; Pächt and Alexander 1973, pl. 75. Though the miniature is generally in excellent condition, the loss of pigment has left some jagged white spots.
4. Lerner 1999, p. 33.
5. Soldaia (Greek Sougdaia) may have been founded by Sogdian merchants from present-day Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (see La Vaissière 2005, pp. 242–49). According to sixth-century Byzantine sources, Sogdians, endorsed by the West Turkish Khan Istämi, approached the Byzantine court to gain support for the transport of Chinese silk via the northern steppe route, since the Sassanians had blocked the normal passage through Central Asia (see Knauer 2001, especially pp. 134ff.; for the Greek text, see Blockley 1985). The so-called *Codex Cumanicus* in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (Cod. Mar. Lat. Zan 549 [1597]), a composite work compiled between the 1290s and the 1350s and apparently begun in a monastery of Saint John outside Sarai, provides a panoramic picture of mercantile and missionary activities in the Kipchak realm and beyond. A West Turkic tribal association, the Cumans/Kipchaks, though under the sovereignty of Berke Khan, dominated the steppes between the Dnjestr and the Don, including the Crimea. It was with them that the merchants and monks had to deal (see Schmieder and Schreiner 2005 and Golden 1992; see also Drimba 2000). The languages recorded in the codex (vocabularies and short texts) are Latin, Cuman, Italian dialects, and a German dialect; Persian, Greek, Slavic, and Mongolian elements are also found, reflecting the poly-ethnic origins of the population, specifically of the Crimea. The *lingua franca* of the Mongol empire was, however, Persian, which Marco Polo may have mastered, though he seems to have remained ignorant of Chinese. For the political history of the region, see Spuler 1965 and also Vásáry 2005. For a detailed study of the relations between the West and China from antiquity to the High Middle Ages, see Reichert 1992, which deals extensively with

Marco Polo and other visitors to China. On the slave trade, see note 22 below.

6. For details on the voyage of the brothers, see the second chapter of Lerner's excellent study (1999, pp. 31–45). The famous globe designed by Martin Behaim for the City Council at Nürnberg in 1492 and kept in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum there shows three men in Armenia, perhaps the Polos. Much of the information in Marco's book has been absorbed into the globe; see Muris 1943 and Willers 1992.
7. This may have been at the request of Khubilai's Christian wives, and the oil could also have served to work magic, an important aspect of shamanism, which the Mongols practiced. See Lerner 1999, p. 35.
8. Peter Jackson (2005, p. 264 and passim) speaks of the khans' need of "religious specialists." His article presents an excellent analysis of the complex character of Mongol beliefs and attitudes and the changes that occurred over time.
9. See, for example, the entry on the miniature by Pia Palladino (in Carboni et al. 2007, p. 299, no. 15).
10. The whitish objects the vendor standing between the columns distributes from his large wicker basket are more likely to be rolls than eggs, as they are often described, since he is dropping them into a shopper's apron.
11. The Ponte della Paglia was constructed in 1360. Compared with the toylike structures of the cityscape, the bridge, built of limestone blocks set in thick beds of mortar, evinces an almost "magic realism." As a technical feat it may have commanded the attention of visitors and thus found entry into contemporary guidebooks. Olschki (1937, p. 225) maintains that the bridge in the miniature represents the Ponte di Rialto. As can be seen in Carpaccio's *Miracle of the Relic of the Holy Cross of 1495* (Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice; see Sgarbi 1994, p. 11) and the detail view from Jacopo de' Barbari's engraving of 1500 (Carboni et al. 2007, p. 60, fig. 1), however, in the early 1400s the Ponte di Rialto was a wooden drawbridge that parted at the center to allow the passage of the doge's sumptuous boat, the *bucintoro*. Fra Giocondo's project for a stone bridge of 1514—one of many submitted at the time—was realized by Antonio da Ponte only between 1588 and 1592.
Another feature of striking realism in the miniature are the *fondamenti* or *rivi*. They consist of wooden planks nailed to sturdy posts rammed into the muddy bottom of the canal. This system of securing the embankments was still in use in Carpaccio's time; he depicted it in 1495 in the scene of the departure of Saint Ursula and her fiancé in the cycle *The Legend of Saint Ursula* (Galleria dell'Accademia; see Sgarbi 1994, pp. 80ff.), which takes place in an imaginary northern country but draws on Carpaccio's visual experience of the Venetian cityscape. The Canal Grande and other larger thoroughfares had stone embankments early on (see Gentile Bellini's *Miracle of the Holy Cross at Ponte di San Lorenzo* of about 1500 in the Galleria dell'Accademia), but the wooden *fondamenti* of the minor canals and *rivi* were replaced by stone structures much later (see, for example, the engravings by Giacomo Franco of 1610 [Del Negro and Preto 1998, p. 714, fig. 5, p. 718, fig. 8]). During this ongoing process, which included the constant dredging of the canals, innumerable terracotta pellets were excavated that were used in practicing the sport of *archi da balle* (bows) over several centuries (see Busiri Vici 1963, specifically p. 349n12). Young men are using bows to shoot such pellets at cormorants in Carpaccio's *Hunting on the Lagoon* (Figures 7, 8).
12. In the illuminated manuscript of *Le livre des merveilles* in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (ms. fr. 2810, fol. 14; see Zorzi 1988, p. 30, fig. 15), which dates to about the same time as

- Bodley 264, Marco is shown taking leave with his father and uncle (on horseback) in a similar cinnabar-colored outfit.
13. Pia Palladino in Carboni et al. 2007, p. 299, no. 15.
 14. Cogs were the typical vessels for bulk cargo (see Howard 2007, p. 77). A huge cog under construction in a floating dock is shown in front of the arsenal (inscribed *armamentarium*) in the enormous woodcut of Venice by Erhard Reuwich of 1486 that was printed in Mainz. The Dutch artist accompanied Bernhard von Breydenbach, canon of Mainz Cathedral, on his trip to the Holy Land in 1483. His illustrations are precious factual documents.
 15. For a nearly contemporary parallel, see the detail in the fourth of the magnificent set of Flemish tapestries, the so-called Devonshire Hunting Tapestries, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Woolley 2002, pl. 14), where otters, swans, and herons are the game of either hunters, trained hawks, or daredevil children (who try in vain to rob a swans' nest). Next to this scene is a walled sea-port, connected by a drawbridge to the bank of an estuary, where cogs are anchored behind the crenellated town and a galley is being rowed into the harbor, its aft cabin protected by a precious tent.
 16. Even Olschki (1937, p. 132, fig. 8, and pp. 225ff.) disregards it in his interpretation of the miniature.
 17. Only in an enlargement of the miniature can one make out what might be the outline of a dark bird with a white neck. Considering the overall dimensions of the miniature, it was an impossible feat to depict the bird more clearly. Presumably Johannes could reckon on the foreknowledge of the viewer. On cormorants, see Brehm 1911, pp. 136–40. Cormorants belong to the order Steganopodes (see Knauer 2003). The term cormorant is transmogrified from *corvus marinus* (sea raven), first attested in the Latin-German Reichenau glosses of the eighth century.
 18. Elke Böhr graciously provided fresh information, citing Schöne and Schmidt 2009. Cormorants are shown in flight and in the characteristic half-submerged position next to the swans' nest in the Devonshire Hunting Tapestries (see note 15 above). Unlike ducks and herons, cormorants had nothing to fear from falconers, since they were considered unfit for human consumption.
 19. See Knauer 2003, p. 36nn1–2. The paintings, reunited for a short period at an exhibition in the Palazzo Grassi in Venice in 1999–2000, had already been recognized in the 1960s as being part of a double door or shutter, as the Getty view of the lagoon has on its back a trompe l'oeil—letters pinned to a framed board (ibid., pp. 32–33, figs. 1–3).
 20. Ibid., p. 35. Despite the careful study of the symbolic connotations of the objects surrounding the two women by Gentili and Polignano (Gentili and Polignano 1993; Polignano 1993), I doubt the women's respectability, based on their hairstyles, jewelry, and deportment and the color and cut of their dresses (see Knauer 2002).
 21. A butcher's stall is attached to the Torre dell'Orologio in the depiction of the Piazzetta and Piazza San Marco in a painting by Bonifazio de' Pitati (1487–1553) at the Accademia in Venice (cat. no. 917) of about 1543–44; the explanatory label calls the shop a furrier's, but the suspended pinkish objects with dangling legs speak against that.
 22. The Black Sea coast emporia also served as slave markets; the Genoese at Caffa (Feodosiya) and the Venetians were notorious for their systematic shipping of young slaves of both sexes and of the most varied races, mainly hailing from the Kipchak steppe, to supply the harems of Islamic courts and to fill the ranks of their armies. The primary recipients were the sultans of Mamluk Egypt, but Italy and other Christian countries too were interested in the acquisition of “infidels,” the women to be employed as house slaves, the men in agriculture and crafts. Already in antiquity the steppes of the northern Black Sea region were an acknowledged source of human merchandise; Strabo (*Geography* 11.2.3) reported that the nomadic tribes of those territories exchanged slaves for clothing, wine, and other Mediterranean commodities. Marco Polo brought back with him to Venice a Tartar slave named Peter. The slave trade was by no means interrupted after the Western merchants had lost their footholds around the Black Sea. Once they were willing to embrace Christianity, the captives could improve their station. See the magisterial work of Charles Verlinden (1955–77, especially vol. 2); see also Origo 1955; Elze 1981, pp. 131–35; Heers 1981; and Günesh-Yagci 2007. Before the capture of Byzantium by the crusaders in 1204, Italian traders were a rare sight around the Black Sea because no official support from their hometowns was forthcoming; their activities took wing only after that event (see Jacoby 2007 and Ortalli, Ravegnani, and Schreiner 2006).
 23. See Larner 1999, chap. 7, pp. 116–32, and Rossabi 2002; see also Abulafia 2000 and Jackson 1999. For the Latin reports of the monks who had contacted the Mongols in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Van den Wyngaert 1929. The first wave of a devastating disease, the so-called Black Death, was carried from the Kipchak steppe to the Crimea and on merchant vessels to Europe in 1347, rats being the carriers of the bacterium. The loss of lives all over Europe and Asia was staggering and significantly contributed to the collapse of the trade links. The contacts established before these catastrophes, however, prepared the West for the great discoveries of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The East was no longer a *terra incognita*.
 24. Larner (1999, pp. 88–104), despite Rustichello's “chivalric rhetoric,” sees Marco's book in the tradition of cosmographical works and affirms that he must have used notes he had taken during his twenty-four years in China when he dictated his *Divisament dou monde* (Description of the World) to Rustichello. He may have been aware of the remarkable state of mapmaking in China.
 25. English translation from Yule (1866) 1967, vol. 2, pp. 189–91. For the Latin text, see Van den Wyngaert 1929, vol. 1, pp. 462–63. For the significance of Odoric, see Reichert 1987 and 1992, pp. 123–26, though he does not discuss the cormorant passage. Carpaccio shows no ties around the necks of the birds in his painting, but cormorants can be trained to disgorge their catch without the cords. See, for example, Salvin (1859) 1972.
 26. Yule (1866) 1967, vol. 2, pp. 192–94, and Reichert 1992, pp. 149–51. See also Arnold 1999, especially chap. 10, “Assessing the Franciscan Presence in China: The Archaeological Evidence,” pp. 135–51. On his voyage through China, Odoric frequently stayed in the houses of the Friars Minor (Richard 1998). The Nestorians who long preceded the Latin orders and became their adversaries once they arrived had been quite effective in their missionary work in China from as early as the seventh century. This is attested by the famous Nestorian stele of A.D. 781 discovered in Xi'an in 1625, which bears a Chinese and a Syriac inscription. For the interpretation of this monument, see Saeki 1951. See also Klein 2000 and Winkler and Tang 2009.
 27. For the evidence of the practice in the Far East, see the unrivaled study by Berthold Laufer (1931), and see also Knauer 2003, p. 35 and n. 24, and Larner 1999, pp. 128–30. On Western merchants in China, see Yule (1866) 1967, pp. cxxxiii–cxxxiv.
 28. The background of *The Deposition*, one in a series of ten tapestries depicting the Passion of Christ in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice, based on cartoons by Niccolò di Pietro (ca. 1420), displays the same formation of single trees growing from bare rocks; see Dellwng 1974, pl. 65. For a rich documentation of the phenomenon, see Bettini et al. 1974.

29. See Olschki 1937, p. 226. For the presence of lions or big cats on early maps, one of the earliest being the mosaic map in the sixth-century Church of Madaba in Jordan, see Knauer 1981, pp. 84n16, 85–86nn28–29, and Arentzen 1984, pp. 92 (*hic leones et fenix* [in Arabia]), 53n95 (*hic abundant leones*).
30. See Hartt 1940, who refers to the dead tree at the left and the leafy tree at the right of the painting. This is a contrast often encountered in Carpaccio's religious paintings; see, for example, *The Flight into Egypt* and *The Virgin Reading* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Walker 1984, nos. 240, 242). The significance of this feature remains to be explored. The key passages of his interpretation are repeated almost verbatim in Hartt and Wilkins 2003, pp. 459–61. No mention is made of the Muslim ambience. Hartt suggests the late 1490s as a plausible date for the painting.
31. As attested by early Christian and high medieval cartography. See note 29 above.
32. See Allsen 2006a and Allsen 2006b, pp. 254–60. In antiquity, the hunting leopard, specifically the cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*), was found from Morocco to northwestern India and in East Africa. By the seventh century A.D., hunting with the animals became immensely popular in the Islamic realm and was adopted in China; see also Brehm 1915, pp. 150–56. Since the animals do not reproduce in captivity, they were traded over huge distances together with their trainers. As highly desirable princely gifts, they reached European courts in the thirteenth century; Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, in Sicily a neighbor of the Muslim grandees of North Africa, was among the first recipients. Princes in northern Italy followed suit in the Renaissance. Venice must have seen many leopards arrive as imports from the Islamic and Mongol world. It appears that the leopard was soon perceived as an emblem of Muslim rule by Italian artists. An early example is Marin Sanudo's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (ca. 1307), in illustrated copies of which a lion is assigned to the Tatars (Mongols) and a leopard to the Mamluks (see Degenhart and Schmitt 1980, no. 636). On Sanudo's importance as a mapmaker and author, see Edson 2007, pp. 60–74. A prime example of studies from nature is Pisanello's colored drawing of a cheetah with a dog collar in the Louvre, Paris (2426), now ascribed to Michelino da Besozzo by Schmitt (Degenhart and Schmitt 1995, fig. 25; reference supplied by Dorothea Stichel). Giovannino de' Grassi provides several other examples, among them the drawings in a sketchbook in the Biblioteca Civica in Bergamo (Degenhart and Schmitt 1980, p. 174, fig. 297, and p. 540, fig. 502). Another is folio 41 in Jacopo Bellini's sketchbook in the Louvre (Degenhart and Schmitt 1990, vol. 7, pl. 50). It seems significant that whenever Jacopo Bellini depicted tethered cheetahs in narrative scenes the subject matter was highly sinister. Several cheetahs are tethered to the wall in the lower level of the building in his drawing *Enthroned Ruler Presented with Severed Head* in the Louvre (45; Eisler 1989, pl. 88). Since some of the figures wear classical dress, I would suggest that the setting is the palace of the Parthian king Orodes II, who receives the severed head of the Roman general Crassus after his defeat at Carrhae (53 B.C.). Another of Bellini's drawings (British Museum, London, 90; Eisler 1989, pl. 201) shows the Flagellation of Christ in a loggia, at the foot of which appears a leashed cheetah. Giovanni Mansueti's *Arrest of Saint Mark* of 1499 (Fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie, Vaduz) shows an Oriental "pet," a big cat with a dog collar, in an imaginary structure suggestive of the Mamluk court in Alexandria, and see also his *Incidents from the Life of San Marco* in the Accademia in Venice (cat. no. 562). Hans Burgkmair the Elder, who traveled extensively in northern Italy and Venice, was certainly familiar with the underlying message: in his *Esther*

- before Ahasverus* of 1528 (Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 689), a cheetah is shown next to the throne of the tyrant. The importance of beasts of prey in Islamic hunting is documented on the so-called Baptistère de Saint Louis in the Louvre, a metal basin of the 1260s with inlaid scenes, among them a cheetah on a leash (see Knauer 1984, pp. 173–78). The motif of the hunting cat also appears frequently on Islamic ceramics of the Mongol period. For Western observers the connotation must have been not only exotic but a positively threatening emblem of the Muslim enemy.
33. See Hartt 1940, p. 30. Job, the quintessentially patient sufferer, was revered in Venice as a saint. Hartt did not notice that the landscape is inhabited exclusively by Muslims.
34. Psalm 42.1: "Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum; ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus" (As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul over thee, O God). See Domagalski 1990, pp. 122–28 ("Der Hirsch am Wasser"), 129–44 ("Der Hirsch am Kantharus"), 144–50 ("Der Hirsch an den Paradiesesflüssen"). See also Bath 1992, pp. 222–24, for instances of the identification of the stag with the crucified Christ. I cannot share Hartt's reading of the landscape on the right side of the picture as peaceful.
35. For a competent essay on the political and religious development in Venice of the time, see Rössler 1956. On Gasparo Contarini, an important and representative figure of that reformatory spirit, see Gleason 1993.
36. The nude human figure among wild beasts and birds in our miniature confirms the character of the scene as a representation of faraway Paradise.
37. Amitai and Biran 2005, part 3, "The Mongol Empire and Its Successors," contains a number of excellent studies covering the period; in this context, Di Cosmo 2005 is of particular relevance.

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The Crossbow of Count Ulrich V of Württemberg

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In 1904 the Metropolitan Museum acquired the arms and armor collection of Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, duc de Dino (1843–1917), one of the foremost arms collectors in nineteenth-century Paris.¹ Among the highlights of almost five hundred objects was the collection's only crossbow, dating from the mid-fifteenth century, which is not only notable as a rare survival of its kind but also distinguished for its unusually elaborate use of carved ivory inlay (Figures 1, 2). Moreover, heraldry and inscriptions incorporated into the decoration identify both the crossbow's original owner, Count Ulrich V of Württemberg (1413–1480), as well as the year in which it was made, 1460—information rarely known for any fifteenth-century object.

The crossbow first received scholarly attention when its owner at the time, the noted British arms and armor scholar and collector Charles Alexander, baron de Cosson (1846–1929), presented a paper (published in 1893) to the Society of Antiquaries of London.² In what appears to be the first publication devoted entirely to a single crossbow (and the first on this type and method of construction), Baron de Cosson recognized the weapon's historical and art-historical significance and also correctly identified the heraldry and, thus, the object's original owner. Since then, however, relatively little has been written about the crossbow, and most authors have drawn primarily on de Cosson's article rather than on firsthand examination of the object.³ More than a century after the Metropolitan's acquisition of the crossbow, this article offers a reassessment of the important weapon, including new information concerning the identity of the crossbow's maker and the symbolism of some parts of its intricate decoration.⁴

For more than two hundred years, up to the end of the fifteenth century, when firearms eventually became increasingly accurate, crossbows remained the most powerful hand-held weapons to be used widely in both warfare and civilian life. They were often required equipment in con-

tracts of military service and in those between co-owners of castles,⁵ and often possession of a crossbow was a condition for acquiring citizenship in early modern cities. Abundant evidence is available for the crossbow's use as a hunting weapon, and it was a favorite diplomatic gift, especially among the nobility. The recreational use of the crossbow, its appearance in proverbs, and references in urban and regional laws concerning the possession and carrying of it further attest to this weapon's importance and prominent position in daily life.⁶

Despite their long period of use, early crossbows—those dating from before about 1500—are relatively rare, and our knowledge about them still has significant gaps.⁷ Ironically, it is precisely the weapon's once-widespread presence that now makes it so difficult to identify the regional or even national origin of surviving examples and prevents us from dating these more precisely than to the first or second half of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The main construction and general appearance of crossbows does not appear to have changed considerably during the course of the fifteenth century, to judge from our limited knowledge. To complicate matters, crossbow makers appear to have traveled extensively, as did their products, thus contributing to the dissemination and, at the same time, the diluting of particular styles. These factors may explain the similar appearance of crossbows depicted in fifteenth-century art throughout western Europe. Although contemporary documents do sometimes refer to regional styles or weapons made in particular centers (or at least thought to have been made there by contemporaries taking inventory), their distinguishing features are not known.⁸ Equally limited is our understanding of workshop practices, techniques, and division of labor, even of those makers in official employment.⁹ The scant documentary evidence available suggests that ordinary crossbow makers of the fifteenth century made both the bow and the stock, leaving the production of any metal parts to a member of the metalworking guilds, such as a blacksmith.¹⁰ The marking of crossbows with an arsenal or maker's sign does not appear to have been a widespread



1. Probably Heinrich Heid von Winterthur (recorded in Stuttgart 1454–60). Crossbow of Ulrich V, Count of Württemberg (1413–1480), 1460. Horn, tendon, birch bark, wood, ivory, bone, antler, hemp, iron (steel?), copper alloy, pigments; 28 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 25 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (71.8 x 65.4 cm), 6 lbs. 9 oz. (2972 g). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1904 (04.3.36)

requirement or custom before the sixteenth century (unless the surviving body of unmarked crossbows is not representative),¹¹ and as a result, it has, to date, been impossible to attribute a single surviving fifteenth-century weapon to a known crossbow maker with any certainty.¹²

Finally, we do not know the extent to which crossbow makers collaborated with specialized artists to produce the most elaborately decorated weapons. Pictorial evidence indicates that most fifteenth-century crossbows were decorated to some extent. The simplest form included a stock with at least some inlay of horn, bone, or even ivory, and a bow covered with printed or painted ornament (see Figures 3 and 16). Although a substantial number of illustrious individuals may have owned crossbows, which would have been lavishly embellished with all conceivable types of decoration (such as painting, inlay, engraving, and relief carving), fewer than a dozen examples are known to survive today.¹³ Most of these include personalized ornament in the form of heraldry, but only two extant fifteenth-century crossbows—the present example and another in the Metropolitan’s collection that is dated 1489 and was made for Matthias Corvinus (1443–1490), king of Hungary—appear to bear a date with the year of manufacture as well as heraldry identifying the original owner.¹⁴

THE CROSSBOW AND ITS DECORATION

Ulrich von Württemberg’s crossbow has two main parts, each with additional components: the bow (which presumably was originally accompanied by its bowstring, as well as an iron loop, or *stirrup*, to assist in the spanning, or drawing back of the bowstring, but both parts were already miss-

ing when this example was first published);¹⁵ and the stock (or *tiller*), with its release mechanism composed of a *nut* and trigger (in contemporary documents usually referred to as a *key*). When used, the crossbow was held with the bow at the front. The projectile, a bolt (or *quarrel*), would be placed on the weapon’s upper side, and the rear left side of the stock would rest against the right cheek, or on the right shoulder (for a right-handed person).

The dimensions of Ulrich’s crossbow¹⁶ classify it as a model known in Germany as a *Halbe Rüstung* (literally, “half-size equipment”), a standard size for western European crossbows.¹⁷ Nevertheless, its elaborate decoration identifies it as an extraordinary example of its kind that would probably have been used primarily for hunting and during ceremonial occasions rather than in warfare.

The sturdy bow has a convex back (facing the target) and a flat belly (facing the user), and tapers toward either end (the *nock*), each of which is shaped to accommodate the loop in a bowstring. X-ray examination shows the bow to be made up of the following components (arranged from belly to back, and all presumably held together with animal glue): a backing of what appears to be wood,¹⁸ followed by several layers of horn, and a final layer of tendon, giving the back its convex shape. The entire surface of the bow was once covered in at least two layers of birch bark, making it more resistant to moisture, but today only small areas of the outer bark covering remain around either nock as well as underneath the binding that joins the bow to the stock. These remaining areas of bark are decorated with a dense pattern of light dots on a black ground (Figure 4), although now-missing central areas of the back and belly may have included more elaborate decoration.¹⁹ The object’s method

2. The crossbow of Ulrich V (Figure 1), seen from below



3. Master of the Sebastian Diptych. *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, ca. 1470–80 (detail showing a group of archers). Oil on linden wood, 11 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (30 x 22 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (1689). Photograph: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, New York. Note the light brown tillers, the bone (or ivory?) facing of the upper side, and the painted bows on both weapons, as well as the depiction of spanning the crossbow with a cranequin on the left.



of construction, illustrated by a cross section from a fifteenth-century bow in the Metropolitan's Arms and Armor collection (Figure 5), was presumably introduced to Europe from the East, probably during the twelfth century or earlier.²⁰ Owing to their construction, such bows are known today as "composite bows," but in contemporary documents they are usually referred to simply as "horn bows." Extremely powerful and far superior to earlier wood examples, composite bows became the dominant crossbow type from the fourteenth century until the end of the fifteenth.²¹ A looped hemp binding (the *ties*) secures the present bow to the stock, but although the bow is contemporary with the tiller, there are certain indications that the bow, like the nut, may be a later replacement: the ties appear to have been replaced, and there is an additional string support on either side between tiller and binding (see Figure 6); no traces can be found of the usual leather binding for the iron stirrup; and the horizontal cutout in the tiller appears to have been made for a bow that was larger than the present one, which apparently had to be secured by two (probably modern) wood wedges, the lower of which is now missing.²²

The slender tiller, which appears to be made of a relatively soft wood, probably birch,²³ has flattened under and upper sides, and is fitted with a horizontal cutout at the front to accommodate the bow. The forward portion (fore-end) is rectangular in cross section, and fitted frontally with a vertical rivet extending through its entire height in order to prevent the cracking of the tiller from the strain of spanning and releasing the bow. At its center, the fore-end is pierced horizontally with a hole (the *bridle hole*) for the ties. A pronounced step, or *shoulder*, separates the fore-end from the convexly oval midsection, which contains a simple lock mechanism. Behind its center, the tiller is fitted with a pair of lugs (which are, in fact, the ends of a single iron bolt passing horizontally through the stock). These lugs provide sup-



4. Detail of Figure 1, showing the fragmentary covering of decorated birch bark at the left nock of the bow. Note also the small modern *R* added in pencil, an indication that the bow was at some point removed from the tiller and is possibly a replacement.



5. Cross section of a fifteenth-century composite bow. Whalebone or horn. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (X.800). The core of this bow does not contain any wooden backing like that in the bow of Figure 1 but is instead made up of layered strips of horn. The surface of each layer is deeply hatched or engraved with parallel lines (giving in profile a "toothed" appearance) in order to strengthen the bonding of the glued components. The same method was apparently employed for the inlays of horn, bone, and ivory in the stock.

port for the spanning device, which in fifteenth-century Germany was often a *Winde*, or crank drive (known in English as a *rack* or *cranequin*; see Figure 3).²⁴ The rear half of the tiller is of slender shape tapering to a blunt end. Its cross section has the form of an asymmetrical triangle (standing on its shortest side) with slightly convex sides.

The lock mechanism is of the simple one-axis variety and is made up of two elements: the cylindrical nut, probably made from antler, which is a later replacement (Figure 7),²⁵ and the trigger. The latter, an iron bar of inverted Z-shape, pivots around an internal axis so that it acts as a lever with its internal upper forward part engaging the nut, while the larger lower part runs parallel to the underside of the tiller. The entire length of the trigger protruding from the underside is covered frontally with copper alloy.²⁶

The elaborate decoration of the tiller consists of inlays of horn and ivory set flush into recesses cut into the stock. The figurative elements contained in the carved ivory panels were designed to be read when the crossbow is held upright. The entire upper side is faced with ivory, following the contours of the tiller, except for the very front, where a square bone section is probably a repair made during the crossbow's working lifetime. Inlays of dark horn frame the areas around the nut, the spanning lugs, and the bridle hole, which is decoratively cut in a floral shape (Figure 8). Although ornamental in appearance, these inlays also serve to reinforce areas of the tiller that come under particular strain when the crossbow is used. The butt end of the tiller was also once covered, presumably by a piece of horn, bone, or ivory (now lost). In addition to the ivory facing of the tiller's upper side, the crossbow's main decoration consists of four panels of carved ivory: one on either side, a corresponding one on the underside, and an additional one of different shape on the underside of the rectangular forward section of the tiller.

The upper ivory facing is left almost entirely without decoration to avoid any visual distraction for the user or physical obstruction for the bolt. Aside from the slightly raised and notched *bolt guide* carved into the front of the replaced bone panel, which is functional rather than decorative, there are only two simple elements of ornament. On the forward section, the part on which the bolt would rest (known as the *chase* or *gutter*), is a small rectangular field filled with a shallowly carved floral pattern against a blackened ground.²⁷ Just behind the nut, Christ's monogram, *ihs*, is engraved in Gothic script; the small hole behind the seat of the nut originally served to secure a curved strip of horn, the bolt clip (now lost), which would have extended over the nut and held a bolt in position before discharge (see Figure 9).

The ivory panels on either side of the tiller (Figures 10, 11) are each of elongated lancet shape, with their carved



6. Fore-end of Ulrich V's crossbow (Figure 1), showing the ties and the details of decoration. Note also the square bone panel at the front and the later string support between the fore-end and the binding.



7. Midsection of Ulrich V's crossbow (Figure 1), showing the nut (a modern replacement, probably dating from the second half of the sixteenth century) and details of the decoration, including the *ihs* monogram behind the nut



8. Detail of the right side of the "shoulder" of Ulrich V's crossbow (Figure 1), showing the horn inlay around the bridle hole

9. Detail of Ulrich V's crossbow (Figure 1), showing the upper side of the midsection and fore-end. The only decoration consists of the *ih̄s* monogram behind the seat of the nut and the rectangular field containing floral decoration at the front of the chase.



decoration consisting of, top to bottom: a coat of arms; a sun-shaped frame encircling the protruding axis of the trigger; and an inscribed, zigzagging banderole, which issues from the hand of a human figure standing on a baluster-like pedestal in the panel's lower pendentive. Incised lines bor-

dering the main edges of the banderole, as well as some of the initial letters, show traces of red pigmentation.²⁸

The carved panel on the tiller's right side (Figure 10) depicts, at the top, the arms of Württemberg,²⁹ heraldically facing to the right (dexter):³⁰ *Or, three Stag's Antlers fesswise in pale Sable. Upon a barred Helm, a Bugle-Horn Gules, garnished and stringed Or, issuant from the mouth three Ostrich Feathers alternately Gules, Argent and Sable, mantled Gules and Or.*³¹ In the lower part is shown the figure of a man, clad in mid-fifteenth-century civilian dress; from his raised left arm rises a zigzagging scroll, containing the following Latin inscription and year in Gothic minuscules:

Gloria • / in excelsis / • deo • Et • / in • terra • / pax •
ho / minibus / • bone • vo / luntatis / • Lauda / m9 •
te • / Bene / dictin9 / • te • / 1460³²

Except for the year, the inscription is a quote from the Gospel of Luke 2:14, the angels' announcement of the birth of Christ to the shepherds: "Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis. Laudamus te. Benedictimus te." (Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men who enjoy His good will. We praise thee. We bless thee.)

The carved panel on the opposite, or left, side (Figure 11) depicts, at the top, the arms of Savoy, likewise facing dexter: *Gules a Cross Argent. Upon a barred Helm, a Lion's Head Or between two Wings Argent, mantled Gules doubled Argent.* Beneath it, a zigzagging banderole carries another Latin inscription in Gothic minuscules. In contrast to the panel on the right side, however, the scroll issues from the raised left arm of a woman in mid-fifteenth-century dress. It is also longer and hence rendered in a double zigzag—so that the inscription is to be read from the bottom upward and back down again—with the year given in Roman numerals:

O / ma / ria • gra / cio / sa • D / ei • mr • ge / ne / rosa • /
Diga • / laude / • gloriosa • / Sis • / pro • / nobis • sp /
ecio / sa • / ad[?] m • cccc / • lx •

The words form the four lines of a rhyming verse from a prayer or hymn to the Virgin Mary:

O Maria graciosa	O gracious Mary,
Dei mater generosa	Generous mother of God.
Digna laude gloriosa	Worthy of glorious praise.
Sis pro nobis speciosa	Be beautiful (to behold) for us.
[Anno/Anno domini?]	In the year/In the year of
MCCCCLX	[the Lord] 1460 ³³

The verse, though obviously a prayer to and praise for Mary, is unfortunately too generic to be identified with a liturgical context or a particular text, from which it may have been copied or quoted.³⁴

The shape of the carved panel on the underside of the tiller is similar to that of the side panels, but it has a cutout along its center to frame an opening for the trigger. This cutout is bordered on either side by stylized floral decoration in the form of a chain of heart-shaped leaves, and to the rear by a stylized lily. The entire forward section of the panel is occupied by an S-shaped banderole carrying an intriguing inscription in Hebrew letters (see Figure 19), which will be discussed in detail below.

The last of the carved ivory panels, although shorter than the previous examples, runs the entire length of the underside of the tiller's forward section and terminates at the shoulder section in a cruciform finial (Figure 12). The finial contains what appears to be a cross crosslet or cross potent, from which issue two oak leaves, reaching into the main field and forming a pedestal for a figure of Saint Michael. The haloed and winged archangel is shown in a long tunic (an alb?), over which he is wearing what seems to be a richly embroidered chasuble. In his right hand, he holds a pair of scales, each containing a small human figure, while he raises a sword with his left hand. This pose reverses those of most comparable contemporary examples, which show the sword in the saint's right hand and the scales in the other (Figure 13).³⁵ Here his upright wings mirror the pointed shape of the Gothic trefoil arch above, on top of which are two square fields containing quatrefoil tracery; the forward remainder of this panel is left plain, without any carving.

In addition to the horn and carved-ivory inlays, almost the entire surface of the tiller (with the exception of the sides of the forward section) is embellished with a lightly engraved floral pattern that has been filled with a dark masticlike substance. This decoration includes an outline around each of the ivory panels, which, except for the one depicting Saint Michael, are adorned with small leaves reminiscent of the crockets of Gothic tracery. The floral pattern includes several blossoms, including stylized fleurs-de-lis and pomegranates, as well as geometrical figures, such as knots, quatrefoils, arrows or bolts, and a six-pointed star. Although de Cosson and subsequent writers identified this ornament as Italian, or at least "of Italian influence,"³⁶ there is in fact nothing specifically Italian (or even specifically mid-fifteenth century) about this type of decoration, for which comparisons can easily be found across western Europe in media ranging from textiles and furniture decoration to book illuminations and early prints.³⁷

In addition to the heraldry, it is the extent of decoration that attests to the high status of this crossbow's former owner. Ivory was a rare and costly raw material that only wealthy patrons could afford. It was usually worked by specialized craftsmen, and to judge from the few surviving weapons of the period, the lavishness of the carved ivory on this early example was exceptional. In fact, current research suggests



10. Panel of carved ivory inlaid into the left side of the stock of Ulrich V's crossbow (Figure 1), depicting the arms of Württemberg with a Latin inscription below



11. Panel of carved ivory inlaid into the right side of the stock of Ulrich V's crossbow (Figure 1), depicting the arms of Savoy with a Latin inscription below

12. Panel of carved ivory inlaid into underside of the fore-end of Ulrich V's crossbow (Figure 1), showing the figure of Saint Michael (probably reversed). Note also the modern support between the stock and the binding.

13. Master of the Liesborn Altarpiece. *Saint Michael*, ca. 1470. Cologne or the Netherlands. Oil on oak panel, 33 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (86 x 31.8 cm). Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kultur, Münster (381LM). This is a more typical depiction of a Saint Michael, with a sword in his right hand and scales (identical to those on the crossbow; see Figure 12) in his left.



that this weapon appears to be one of only three known fifteenth-century examples with such extensive use of carved ivory, and (as will be discussed below) the earliest dated crossbow to survive.

ULRICH VON WÜRTEMBERG AND HIS CROSSBOW MAKER HEINRICH HEID

The arms in the tiller's decoration were identified by de Cosson as those of Ulrich V, "the Much-Beloved," count of Württemberg, and those of his third wife, Margaret of Savoy

(1420–1479), whom he married in 1453 (Figures 14, 15).³⁸ Following this identification, it has been the traditional assumption that the crossbow must have belonged to Count Ulrich: not one writer on the subject has raised the possibility of his wife as the owner. Fifteenth-century accounts do occasionally mention women who enjoyed hunting, although the full extent of their participation is rarely described or shown. The vast majority of contemporary references to women hunting pertain to falconry or the stag hunt, and the relatively small number of extant images of such subjects would suggest that the weapon most commonly used by women was the bow.³⁹ The placement of the



14, 15. Ludwig Fries (Master of the Sterzing Altar). *Ulrich V with His Three (Successive) Wives: Margarethe of Kleve (1416–1444), Elisabeth of Bayern-Landshut (1419–1451), and Margaret of Savoy (1420–1479)*. Side wings from an altar (central panel lost). Stuttgart(?), ca. 1470. Tempera on wood, each 31¼ x 18¾ in. (79.5 x 47.5 cm). Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart (WLM 13721, 13722). Photographs: Peter Frankenstein, Hendrik Zwiefark. Note the proper coloring (*tinctures*) of the arms of Württemberg and Savoy.

arms on the tiller also implies that the weapon did not belong to the countess: when the crossbow was in use, the Württemberg coat of arms would—for the most part—have faced outward, fulfilling its heraldic purpose of identifying the owner of the weapon, while the Savoy arms would have faced inward.⁴⁰ In light of all these facts, the identification of Count Ulrich as the weapon's owner is undoubtedly correct.

The count of Württemberg was a powerful and influential peer of the Holy Roman Empire, bearer of the Imperial War-Banner (*Reichssturmflagge*), and ruler over a sizable territory in southwestern modern-day Germany, situated between Baden to the northwest and Bavaria to the southeast, with Stuttgart as its main residence. Upon the premature death of their father in 1419, Ulrich and his elder brother Ludwig, both still minors at the time, jointly inherited the county. Since the nineteenth century, historians have generally offered a somewhat negative judgment of

Count Ulrich. His dominant involvement in the Contract of Nürtingen (an agreement between the two brothers that partitioned the county into two separately governed entities in 1441) probably played a role in this overcritical assessment, as well as the disastrous military defeat at the battle of Seckenheim (discussed below) and the fact that it was Ludwig's son who, in 1495, managed to reunite the two counties and have both family and territory elevated to the status of a dukedom. (Ulrich's eldest son, by contrast, was somewhat of a disappointment.) A recent biography, though largely neglecting Count Ulrich's private life, has helped to modify this view.⁴¹ Indeed, seen through the eyes of his contemporaries, Ulrich's life was nothing short of exemplary.

During his reign, the city of Stuttgart witnessed an unprecedented expansion in terms of size and artistic patronage, while Count Ulrich's household and court, with their elaborate festivities such as tournaments, were apparently modeled on examples set by the dukes of Burgundy.⁴²



16. Master of the Polling Panels. *Pollinger Kreuzfindungsaltaar*, ca. 1455 (detail from upper left wing showing Duke Tassilo of Bavaria hunting). Oil and tempera on fir, 86¼ x 34½ in. (219 x 87.5 cm). Alte Pinakothek, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich (1369). Photograph: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art Resource, New York. The crossbow carried by the count's attendant has a light brown tiller and dark inlays (horn or stained bone?); since the tiller and trigger are somewhat longer than those on Ulrich V's weapon (Figures 1, 2), the crossbow appears to be of a slightly earlier type.

The count's policies were governed as much by ideas of chivalry and honor as by diplomacy, foresight, and the pursuit of gains for his house and territory. In open disputes between the houses of Habsburg and Wittelsbach (including their respective allies) during the 1460s, Ulrich sided with Emperor Friedrich III, not only out of loyalty but also to defend political and financial interests of his third wife. In the process, he famously suffered a bitter defeat and subsequent capture at the battle of Seckenheim on June 30, 1462.⁴³ Lavish spending for all these purposes, including

the enormous ransom that had to be paid for his release (with no support from the emperor), caused financial problems throughout his reign.

Despite these concerns, Count Ulrich's private correspondence and court accounts give ample evidence that he continued to be an avid and passionate huntsman until the very end of his life (he died, in fact, during a hunting visit to his nephew, Count Eberhard).⁴⁴ Numerous letters exchanged from 1454 until 1477 between Count Ulrich and his friend and intimate hunting companion Albrecht Achilles, margrave of Brandenburg (1414–1486), speak of joint hunting excursions and reciprocal visits, the mutual lending of dogs, as well as gifts and exchanges of hunting weapons. No detailed description or depictions of these hunts have come down to us, but a near-contemporary altar wing showing a Bavarian duke riding out with his companions (Figure 16) gives a good idea of the appearance of such hunting parties.⁴⁵ What may have been rather similar paintings, accompanied by various inscriptions, once adorned the walls of Ulrich's private chamber at one of his residences in Marbach, about twelve miles north of Stuttgart. The paintings are now lost, but several scenes were recorded through rough pen-and-ink sketches and descriptions in a late sixteenth-century manuscript by Simon Studion (1543–1605).⁴⁶ One of these (see Figure 17) depicts two dismounted hunters—the one in front, identified as wearing a crimson tunic, is perhaps Ulrich himself—who both aim their crossbows at a stag they have just brought to bay; a banderole half-framing the hunters bears the rather curious inscription “Hürsch / Lasz Dich / nicht verdrieszen / Baldt will / Ich unnszer Jeegen Be / schlüssenn” (Deer, do not be chagrined, I will end our hunting soon).

Three documents relating specifically to artists and craftsmen at Count Ulrich's court give (or gave, since they are now lost) the name of a mid-fifteenth-century crossbow maker in his employment.⁴⁷ On November 18, 1454, Count Ulrich appointed a certain Heinrich Heid von Winterthur as his *Armbruster* and *Werkmeister*.⁴⁸ Both terms are ambiguous, since *Armbruster* can mean both crossbowman and crossbow maker. Likewise, the term *Werkmeister* (literally, “master of works”) was mainly used for architects and master masons, but contemporary documents suggest that it could also denote a “master of military works,” a person in charge of overseeing the acquisition, production, and maintenance of war-related material that a nobleman or city might possess (in this context, probably the contents of arsenals, especially crossbows and siege engines).⁴⁹ Their contracts usually stipulated terms of manufacture, storage, and maintenance of such weaponry, and sometimes stated that the *Werkmeister* was to accompany his employer on campaigns. Heinrich Heid's dual title thus makes it fairly certain that he had assumed not only the position of court crossbow



17. Simon Studion (German, 1543–1605). *Count Ulrich von Württemberg Hunting Bear and Deer* (sketches after lost wall paintings of 1467 from Count Ulrich's private chamber in Marbach Castle). *Vera origio illustrissimæ et antiquissimæ domus Wirtembergicæ...* (1597), fol. 152r (detail). Ink on paper, 12¾ x 8 in. (32.5 x 20.2 cm). Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart (Cod. hist. fol. 57)

maker but a place of importance beyond that of a mere craftsman, as well.

Confirmation of Heid's favored position is found in the other two references to documents originally dating from 1460, the same year that the Museum's crossbow was made. The first of these documents,⁵⁰ dated January 2, stated that Count Ulrich sold a house "with a winepress and other belongings" in Stuttgart tax-free to his crossbow maker, who was to maintain a workshop there, would receive certain privileges, and had to deliver one crossbow annually to the armory. To judge by the purchase price of 400 gulden, as well as the mention of a winepress and "other belongings," this house must have been somewhat out of the ordinary, since house sales from the same period were usually in the range of about 150 to 250 gulden.⁵¹ The other document, of January 7,⁵² appears to have confirmed that this house indeed put too much of a strain on the crossbow maker's purse. Not only was the purchase price given as 500 gulden, but Count Ulrich granted permission for his master mason, Auberlin Jerg, to take over half of the house, which was situated next to that of the painter Matern Maler, for the sum of 250 gulden with the same privileges (freedom from taxation, fees, and similar obligations).⁵³

The coincidence of dates, coupled with the absence of any other names of crossbow makers in Stuttgart at that time, strongly suggests that Heinrich Heid von Winterthur was the maker of Count Ulrich's beautiful weapon. If this assumption is correct, the Metropolitan Museum's weapon would be not only the earliest dated crossbow but the earliest one whose maker has been identified.

Although no other documentary evidence has as yet come to light,⁵⁴ we may make a few more educated guesses about Heinrich Heid von Winterthur and his work. A recent publication suggests that the six-pointed star contained in the engraved decoration on the tiller may be a Star of David (Figure 18), and thus somehow linked with the inscription in Hebrew letters.⁵⁵ This possibility cannot be entirely disregarded. Nevertheless, assuming that Heinrich Heid is indeed the maker of Ulrich's crossbow, a specifically Jewish context for the star and the Hebrew characters is rather unlikely: despite several references to Jews bearing arms, not a single fifteenth-century mention of a Jewish crossbow maker in Germany has been found to date.⁵⁶ Moreover, Jewish members of the population are practically always identified as such in official contexts, but none of the three documents identified Heid as a Jew, nor does the name Heinrich appear to have been used among Jews in fifteenth-century Germany.⁵⁷ Finally, the tiller's star does not have the appearance of a fifteenth-century mark (it is not a separate, individual sign),⁵⁸ and six-pointed stars, even Stars of David, are frequently found as decorative elements in non-Jewish contexts.⁵⁹



18. Detail of the underside of the tiller of Count Ulrich's crossbow (Figure 1), showing a six-pointed star in the engraved decoration

A somewhat more substantial clue to Heinrich Heid's background is the suffix to his name, which implies that he was Swiss and that either one of his immediate ancestors or, more probably, Heinrich himself had emigrated from the city of Winterthur, near Zurich, perhaps at some time in the 1440s. In 1442 Winterthur lost its status as an imperial city and resubmitted to Habsburg rule, which immediately resulted in almost crippling taxation that subsequently prompted many of its inhabitants to leave the city.⁶⁰ By 1454, when he was first employed by the count, Heid may have arrived only recently in Stuttgart. Given his dual appointment as the count's crossbow maker and *Werkmeister*, it seems likely, however, that he was already an experienced master craftsman, either in Stuttgart or elsewhere. This assumption is also supported by the fact that, by 1460 at least, Heid had become an accepted equal among court-appointed craftsmen, living next door to the court painter and co-owning a house with the count's master mason. His implied prosperity in 1460 suggests that Heid's employment in Stuttgart from 1454 to at least 1460 was a successful one. After 1460, however, the documents fall silent. Perhaps Heid died, or perhaps the crossbow maker had lost or given up his position in the wake of his employer's defeat and capture at the battle of Seckenheim in 1462.⁶¹ It is also possible, of course, that Heid was simply not mentioned in relevant Württemberg documents anymore, or that those that did mention him have not survived.⁶² There is, however, a single reference in a Swiss document of 1490 to a certain "Jakob Heid, son of the crossbow maker Heinrich Heid of Basle,"⁶³ which could indicate that the master returned to Switzerland.⁶⁴

AN ENIGMATIC INSCRIPTION: ITS ORIGINS AND POSSIBLE MEANING

At this point, we return to what is probably the single most outstanding element in the decoration of Count Ulrich's crossbow: the enigmatic inscription in Hebrew characters, contained in an S-shaped banderole on the carved panel on the underside of the stock (Figure 19).⁶⁵ It is to be read from the bottom up, and from right to left:

האב ג[?]ח ליעב ה[?]ב הער[?]צ[?]ע

For a long time, this inscription has baffled both art historians and Hebrew scholars. Baron de Cosson submitted the inscription for review by two eminent academics of his day, but although a reading of the characters was offered, de Cosson had to concede that any attempt to further decipher the inscription remained "without success so far as its interpretation is concerned."⁶⁶ He concluded that it was probably an attempt to copy Hebrew by an artist who did not speak the language and was placed on the crossbow

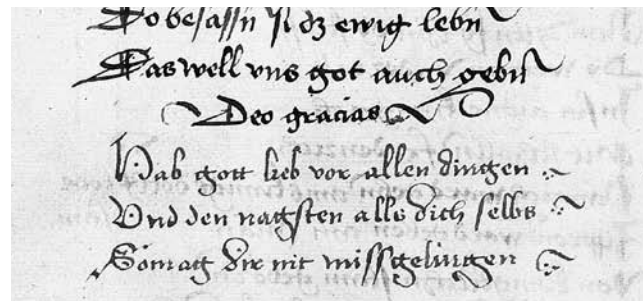
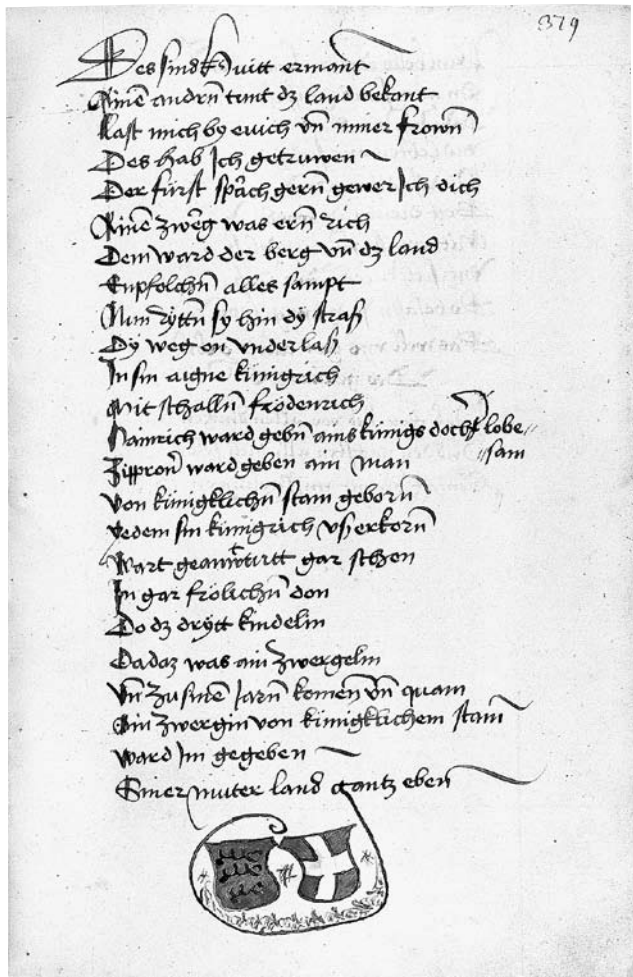
"only to impress the ignorant with the vastness of the artist's learning," an opinion he reiterated in his description of the crossbow for the catalogue of the duc de Dino collection.⁶⁷ Such inscriptions, in what may be called "pseudo-Hebrew," are indeed found quite frequently in medieval and Renaissance art.⁶⁸

No decisive progress was made in the interpretation of the inscription until 1957, when the corresponding letters of the Western alphabet were added to the transcription below each Hebrew character.⁶⁹ This allowed for the inscription to be read phonetically in reverse, from left to right, revealing the following German or Yiddish words: *hab gut lieb hoch herze*.

Professor Bezalel Narkiss at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem confirmed this reading in 1990 but noted that some of the Hebrew letters are not rendered entirely accurately on the crossbow.⁷⁰ In 2004, the inscription was studied once more, by Jerold C. Frakes, professor of German and comparative literature at the University of Southern California, for a publication on early Yiddish texts.⁷¹ The question of whether the language is German or Yiddish, already raised by Narkiss, could not be resolved,⁷² and Frakes further noted that this reading could actually have different meanings, depending on the form of the verb (indicative or imperative use) and the interpretation of the word *gut*, which may stand for either *Gott/Gott* (God) or *gut* (good, well).⁷³ In addition to these observations, the interpretation of the expression *hoch herze* (literally, "high heart") is of importance in this context. The phrase could be a German expression for "being in high spirits"—more specifically a form of the chivalric virtue and courtly attitude *hoher muot*, or *magnanimitas*⁷⁴—or possibly, although less likely, the reference to a surname.⁷⁵ Accordingly, several readings are possible for the phrase, which can be interpreted either as a statement or as an exhortation:



19. Detail of the panel of carved ivory inlaid into the underside of the stock of Count Ulrich's crossbow (Figure 1), showing the cryptogram in front of the trigger (discernible to the right). The inscription is to be read from the lower right to the upper left of the scroll.



20, 21. Workshop of Ludwig Henfflin (probably Stuttgart, fl. ca. 1470–79). *Friedrich von Schwaben* (details from the last two pages), ca. 1470. Ink and watercolor on paper, 11 1/2 x 8 in. (29.2 x 20.2 cm). Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 345, a manuscript probably commissioned by Margaret of Savoy, fol. 379r (Figure 20), detail showing part of the text and the arms of Württemberg and Savoy facing each other (*a courtoisie*), and fol. 379v (Figure 21), showing the addition by the scribe, perhaps a kind of signature. The same scribe wrote the manuscript shown in Figures 22 and 23.

Vilgelipt), Count Ulrich is recorded as having used a favorite personal phrase, the virtually untranslatable *Botz nieswurz* or *Gotts nieswurz*,⁷⁶ but this peculiar exclamation or oath does not appear to have ever been used as a motto in an artistic and/or heraldic context.⁷⁷ Along similar lines, the famous motto of the House of Savoy, *FERT*, which can be read as both a word and an abbreviation and thus offers a variety of possible interpretations,⁷⁸ was apparently never used by Countess Margaret during her life in Stuttgart.⁷⁹ Thus, neither her family motto nor her husband's dictum offer any relation to the crossbow's inscription.

A link can be found, however, with two manuscripts associated with the countess. As countess of Württemberg, Margaret of Savoy has been identified as the patron most likely to have commissioned a number of manuscripts⁸⁰ from the workshop of a certain Ludwig Henfflin that was active from at least 1470 until the countess's death in 1479 and probably located in Stuttgart.⁸¹ A number of secular manuscripts from this workshop survive today. Among them are Johann von Tepl's moralistic tale *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* and the anonymous romance *Friedrich von Schwaben*. Apparently copied by the same scribe, both show not only the familiar pair of arms (Figures 20, 22), with Württemberg and Savoy facing each other *a courtoisie*, but also, at the end of each, a few lines by the scribe himself (known in German as a *Schreiberspruch*, a scribe's slogan).⁸² These additions are a variation of the following rhyme (Figures 21, 23):

Hab gotz lieb vor allen dingen	Love God above all things
(Und den nagsten alls dich selbs)	(and thy neighbor as thyself)
So mag dir nit missgelingen	Then nothing will go wrong ⁸³

The partial concordance of the first line with the initial words of the crossbow's inscription confirms that the latter is to be read as an exhortation in German, most likely "Hold God dear [and be in] high spirits!"⁸⁴ The fuller manuscript versions also identify the textual source of the phrase, the Gospels of Luke (10:27) and Matthew (22:35–40), both of which deal with the preeminence of the first two commandments among those of the Decalogue. A closer look at the

[I] hold God dear [and am in] high spirits.
 [Indicative use of the verb; phrase interpreted as a statement]

Hold God dear [and be in] high spirits!
 [Imperative use of the verb]

Hold God dear, [you] high spirited [one]!
 [Imperative use of the verb; *hoch herze* interpreted as a salutation]

Hold God dear, Hochherze!
 [Imperative use of the verb; *hoch herze* interpreted as a surname]

Love well [to be in] high spirits!
 [Imperative use of the verb; *gut* interpreted as "good/well" rather than "God"]

None of these readings, alas, can immediately be connected to any of the known mottoes or devices of either the House of Württemberg or the House of Savoy. Apart from his epithet "the Much-Beloved" (*Beneamatus* or *der*

22, 23. Workshop of Ludwig Henfflin (probably Stuttgart, fl. ca. 1470–79). Johannes von Tepl, *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen* (two details, one from the second, the other from the last page), ca. 1470. Ink and watercolor on paper, 12¼ x 8⅜ in. (31.1 x 21.2 cm). Universitätsbibliothek, Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 76, a manuscript probably commissioned by Margaret of Savoy, fol. 1v (Figure 22), detail showing the arms of Württemberg and Savoy facing each other (a *courtoisie*), and fol. 32v (Figure 23), detail showing two additions by the scribe, the second perhaps a kind of signature. The same scribe wrote the manuscript shown in Figures 21 and 22.

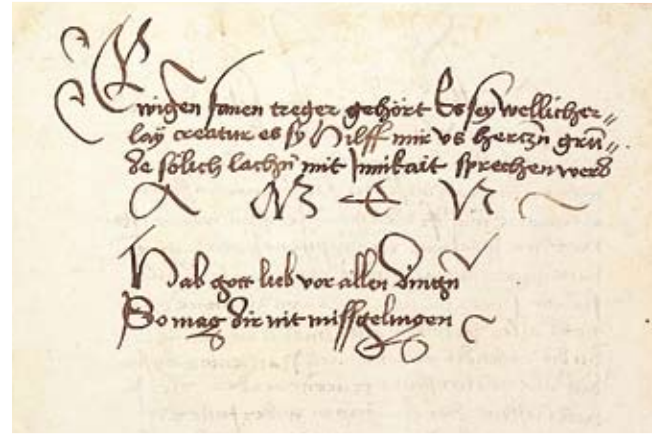


diffusion of this phrase, or close variations, in fifteenth-century literature reveals interesting possibilities as to the origin and meaning of the inscription on our crossbow.

As religious sentiments, the commandments to love God and to love your neighbor are familiar themes frequently found in medieval theological and philosophical writing, and as such, they were most likely also the subject of public sermons. Proponents of Dominican spiritualism such as Master Eckhart (ca. 1260–1328) and his follower Johannes Tauler (ca. 1330–1361) interpreted both biblical passages,⁸⁵ and didactic analyses of the Ten Commandments were popular publications, found in many libraries of noble households.⁸⁶ During the mid-fifteenth century, the Dominican order underwent a profound and widespread reform in Germany, with the support of both church and nobility (Count Ulrich, for example, founded a Dominican priory in Stuttgart in 1473).⁸⁷ These events may account for a renewed interest in Dominican writings at the time.⁸⁸

The last two words of the crossbow's inscription, *hoch herze*, may also be interpreted in the context of Dominican spiritualism. In addition to their possible secular interpretations as *magnanimitas* or “noble heart,” the words could be an interpretation of a passage from Master Eckhart that immediately follows his discussion of the commandment to love God, or “to lift up your head [to God]” (“Erhebe Dein Haupt”).⁸⁹ More specifically, the words may be based on a German rendition of *sursum corda* (lift up your hearts), a familiar part of Roman Catholic liturgy since at least the third century.⁹⁰ During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the *sursum corda* was also known in German-speaking areas as one of the themes in the theological writings of another Dominican, the famous German mystic and Eckhart disciple Heinrich Seuse (1295/1297–1366).⁹¹ Contemporaries might well have understood a phrase like *hoch herze* as both a chivalric virtue and a religious exhortation.

Sometime during the fifteenth century, variations of the phrase “hab gott lieb vor allen dingen,” together with rhym-



ing second lines of religious or secular content, became more widely known and took on the status of proverbs.⁹² Use of the phrase is by no means exclusive to the Württemberg court, but it appears almost solely in manuscripts. Outside the realm of religious writings (but undoubtedly influenced by them), such stanzas are found either as the familiar *Schreibersprüche*, entirely unrelated to the actual content of the manuscript, or they are embedded within the text. One example, which is either another *Schreiberspruch* or an owner's motto—“Hab Gott lieb von allen dingen Oswald Enperger von Eferdingen”—is found in a manuscript, dated 1469, that was probably produced in the southern German or the western Austrian region. As in the Henfflin manuscripts, it is a final addition separate from the text, but here its first line rhymes not with a second line but with the name of the manuscript's scribe or original owner.⁹³ The above-mentioned courtly romance *Friedrich von Schwaben* actually contains the phrase twice: in addition to the *Schreiberspruch*, the line is paraphrased (in order to fit the rhyme) in the main body of the text, as advice given by the protagonist's dying father to his son (fol. 182v):⁹⁴ “Haben lieb vor allen dingen got / Das ist mein lex und mein pott” (Holding God dear above all else / This is my law and commandment).

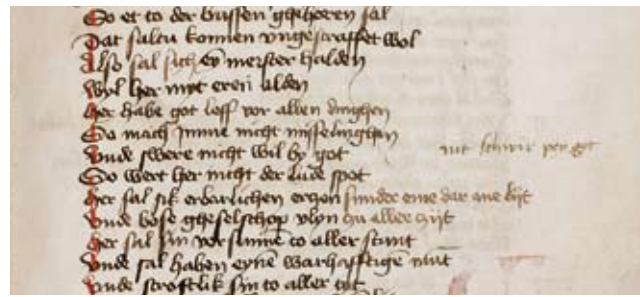
The appearance of the phrase in romance literature testifies to the extent that it had already become a familiar proverb by the middle of the fifteenth century. This context, though secular, nonetheless remains that of exemplary (Christian) advice or pious exhortation. The phrase is also found, serving a similar end, in several fifteenth-century books on various aspects of military engineering, known in German as *Feuerwerks-* (pyrotechnics) or *Büchsenmeister-* (masters of military works) *Bücher* (books/manuals), that contain advice ranging from the use of weapons and siege engines to recipes for gunpowder. The phrase appears in passages addressing how a “master of military works” should behave in order to be successful. Although sumptuous

versions of these *Büchsenmeister-Bücher* were occasionally produced for the nobility and city officials, it is today commonly accepted that many of them were training manuals, which apprentices duplicated from their masters' volumes and then used as their own, jealously guarded collections of trade secrets (to which they would add their own experiences and discoveries).⁹⁵ One such book, contemporaneous with our crossbow, is an untitled work of about 1450, written (in his own hand) by the Hessian Johannes Bengedans (ca. 1405–after 1451), who worked first in the services of Christopher of Bavaria, union king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (1416–1448), and subsequently for the Teutonic Order.⁹⁶ On folio 4r, lines 14–17 (Figure 24), Bengedans advises:

Thus a master shall carry himself
 If he wants to grow old honorably
 He shall hold God dear above all else
 Thus nothing will go wrong for him
 And do not swear much by God
 Then you will not become [the center of]
 people's ridicule⁹⁷

Among several other requirements for being a successful *Büchsenmeister*, Bengedans lists modesty, quickness of mind, honesty, versatility, and, last but not least, the ability to read and write (fols. 3v–4v). And although the author refers to himself as “hand gunner” and “master of guns” (terms that he apparently uses synonymously), it is noteworthy that Bengedans nevertheless devotes a considerable amount of text and illustrations, both in his manuscript as well as in a letter requesting employment, to the manufacture of various types of arrows and bolts (Figure 25).⁹⁸ In large part these manuscripts were of course faithfully copied generation after generation, but the continued presence of crossbows in these manuscripts nonetheless demonstrates the importance that they still held during the period, even in the life of military engineers whose professional title already reflected the emerging dominance of firearms. It is hardly surprising, then, that the deliberate and (within the profession at least) widespread reproduction of these military manuals also accounts for the lines on ideal behavior to be found in other manuscripts, as, for example, in a slightly later *Feuerwerks-Buch*, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, in which the above passage appears almost verbatim.⁹⁹

It is the context of literary manuscripts—either the artistic endeavors of scribes or the more pragmatic manuals of military engineers—that can be identified as the most probable source for the inscription on the crossbow.¹⁰⁰ Since all such secular examples of the phrase appear in vernacular language, however, why were the words on the crossbow rendered in Hebrew characters, and did they symbolize



24. Johannes Bengedans (German, ca. 1405–after 1451). *Büchsenmeister-Buch*, ca. 1450. Ink and watercolor on paper, 11 3/8 x 7 7/8 in. (29.5 x 20 cm). University Library, Copenhagen, Arnamagnæ Collection, AM 374 fol. (a manuscript written in Bengedans's own hand), detail of fol. 4r, which includes the advice “Thus a master shall carry himself / If he wants to grow old honorably...”



25. Johannes Bengedans. *Büchsenmeister-Buch* (see Figure 24), fol. 49r, showing at the top “How one shall shoot fire with a [crossbow] bolt,” and underneath it “How one shall make a [stationary] block for crossbows to span them with it”

anything beyond their literal meaning of “hold God dear [and be in] high spirits”?

An obvious explanation would be that this enigmatic inscription was actually intended as an enigma or cryptogram. The use of secret codes was, in fact, much more common during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance than is usually assumed.¹⁰¹ Some of the most frequent forms of enciphering included the scrambling of letters; writing words or phrases partially or entirely in reverse; and substituting letters of the Western alphabet with invented or traditional cryptographic symbols, entire words, and letters from foreign alphabets, and replacing words or phrases with foreign translations, or any combination of these. Although Greek letters appear to have been especially favored, the Hebrew alphabet was also employed, offering the advantage that its

26. Diebold Schilling the Younger (Alsace, before 1460–ca. 1515). *The Conspiratory Congregation of Rotärmler in Front of the Tailors' Guild Hall in Lucerne, 1513. Luzerner Bilderchronik (Lucerne Chronicle; completed 1513), fol. 5. Ink and watercolor on parchment, 15½ x 11¼ in. (39.5 x 28.5 cm). Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Lucerne (Hs S 23). Property of the Korporation Luzern. In the cryptogram in the border, the first four words (left to right) at the top can be deciphered as "HAB GOT LIEB VOR." The inscription continues clockwise.*



letters were not only less familiar than the Greek alphabet but also written from right to left.

Indeed, such types of encryption are frequently encountered in *Büchsenmeister-* and *Feuerwerks-Bücher* of the fifteenth century, where they were used to keep any information secret that the author may have deemed sensitive. In one instance, dating from 1428, the variations range from very simple (German words written backward) to more elaborate (Latin text written in Hebrew characters).¹⁰² The last-mentioned practice was continued even after the first German university had included Hebrew in its curriculum in 1471.¹⁰³ Similar encryptions were still used in the famous *Housebook (Das Mittelalterliche Hausbuch)*, a princely manuscript closely related to books on the art of war and military engineering that dates to about 1480.¹⁰⁴

In at least one instance, we even find the exact phrase *hab got lieb* in encryption in a semi-official manuscript, although it is not a book on military engineering. The illuminated *Lucerne Chronicle (Luzerner Bilderchronik)*, completed in 1513 by Diebold Schilling the Younger (before 1460–ca. 1515), contains not one but three examples of the

familiar phrase. There, in addition to two near-identical vernacular versions, contained in the frames of two illuminations painted by Schilling himself,¹⁰⁵ it appears in another frame at the beginning of the manuscript (fol. 5) but is hidden through its encryption by means of a cross cipher (Figure 26).¹⁰⁶ At first, it may seem a bit far-fetched to offer a connection between a Württemberg crossbow of 1460 and this illuminated chronicle produced half a century later in Switzerland. After all, both cryptograms might simply have used similar and apparently widely disseminated systems of encryption. Nevertheless, further research reveals links between the manuscript and the crossbow.

The author and illuminator of the Lucerne chronicle was born in Haguenau/Alsace as the son of Hans Schilling (active ca. 1450–69), himself a scribe and illuminator working in a manuscript workshop located in Château Haguenau that was active between about 1425 and 1470. Hans Schilling in fact took over the famous and successful workshop after the initial leadership of Diebold Lauber (active 1440–71). Lauber, although calling himself a “scribe” and once also a “teacher of children” (*lert die kinder*), was primarily a bookseller with excellent diplomatic connections, fostered by the location of his workshop, its commercial activities, and a relative’s position as a messenger for the regional bailiffs (*Landvögte* and *Unterlandvögte* of the Alsace). In an environment such as this, in which manuscript production intersected with the diplomacy and administration of a regional government, we might expect a familiarity with, and application of, cryptography. Although no direct commissions from the Lauber/Schilling workshop for Count Ulrich or his wife have so far been identified, manuscripts from Haguenau were purchased by numerous clients near and far. Among them were members of the Württemberg nobility, closely associated with the court in Stuttgart.¹⁰⁷

In addition to its use by military engineers and by scholars and scribes for official purposes such as diplomatic communications, cryptography was employed in circumstances where concealment may seem unnecessary, and even playful, to the modern eye.¹⁰⁸ It was used, for example, in various fifteenth-century artworks, to refer inconspicuously to an actual or historical event¹⁰⁹ or person, or to lend sophistication to the artist’s signature. A noted example is the cryptogram in the form of three Hebrew letters found on a panel of the Ghent altarpiece of about 1425–35 (Saint Bavo, Ghent); it has been identified as a phonetic monogram of the altar’s principal painter, Jan van Eyck (ca. 1395–1441).¹¹⁰ Incidentally, one of the Henfflin manuscripts also shows a use of abbreviations that are to some extent similar to witty cryptograms: on the first folio of the *Ackermann aus Böhmen*, the Savoy arms are shown in a shield of Italian type, surrounded by the four capital letters *I, M, M, and L* (most likely the initials of the four evangelists). Moreover,

some of the curled extensions of letters in the text, in both Tepl's *Ackermann* and the *Friedrich von Schwaben*, contain the small Gothic letters *f*, *m*, and *v* (*u*), abbreviations for *fortuna* (good fortune), Margaret, and Ulrich, respectively.¹¹¹

In conclusion, the enigmatic inscription on Count Ulrich's crossbow can be identified as the encryption of part of a popular phrase, whose immediate origins lie in professional manuscript production. Margaret of Savoy's patronage of manuscripts is a likely cultural environment to have engendered the crossbow's cryptic inscription, with its Hebrew characters amid Latin quotes and sophisticated decoration. In three manuscripts, which can be linked—directly or circumstantially—to the Württemberg court, the phrase was apparently added by the scribe (or illuminator), and we may safely assume that the artist responsible for the crossbow's decoration probably worked among colleagues patronized by Count Ulrich of Württemberg and his wife. In Stuttgart some of these artists apparently lived in close proximity to one another, and Heinrich Heid, as Count Ulrich's court crossbow maker, lived directly among them. Such connections, albeit circumstantial, offer further support to the suggestion that Heid was the maker of our crossbow, although the rather specialized decoration was probably executed by an ivory carver. The inscription may thus be an example, admittedly by very sophisticated means, of displaying an artist's or patron's knowledge and learning. It is possible that the Hebrew alphabet of the "language of God" was regarded as more appropriate for a semipious exhortation. The combination of the encoded phrase with the Latin quote from the Gospel of Luke would also permit the speculation that the crossbow was commissioned by the countess as a Christmas or Epiphany present for her husband, the passionate huntsman. Perhaps the rendition of the inscription in Hebrew letters, in combination with the placement of the Savoy arms, was intended to remind Count Ulrich of his wife and to keep an intimate message hidden from the general gaze when the count, or one of his attendants, carried the weapon in public.¹¹²

On the other hand, the cryptogram might be interpreted more precisely, in the context of the crossbow maker's military profession. Heinrich Heid not only held the position of court crossbow maker but was also employed by Count Ulrich as his *Werkmeister*, implying that he was in charge of the count's weapons and military machinery. If this interpretation of the term is correct, the cryptogram would have held a more specific meaning. Accepting the requirements set out in the relevant passages of the *Büchsenmeister-Bücher* as professional necessities, we can assume that Heinrich Heid would probably have been able to read and write, possibly even had a basic knowledge of other languages such as Latin and Hebrew, and would have been familiar with cryptography. Given that the German phrase is

often found as an artist's addition, and that cryptograms were occasionally employed for unobtrusive identification purposes, it is quite conceivable that the encrypted inscription on the crossbow is a deliberate addition of its maker. Accordingly, it may be suggested that the cryptogram resembles some sort of signature, and—if this theory is correct—the last two words may possibly even be an encrypted monogram of Heinrich Heid (with *hoch herze* standing for HH, or **H**einrich **H**eid). In the absence of further evidence, however, this hypothesis must unfortunately remain extremely speculative.¹¹³ Whatever the explanation of its inscription may be, Count Ulrich's extraordinary crossbow remains visually and intellectually engaging, and unwilling to give up all of its secrets.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For generous assistance in the preparation of this article, I am grateful to my colleagues Stuart Pyhrr, Helmut Nickel, Donald LaRocca, Hermes Knauer, Edward Hunter, Stephen Bluto, Marilyn Van Dunk, and Jonathan Tavares of the Department of Arms and Armor; Marjorie Shelley and Yana van Dyke in the Department of Paper Conservation; Marijn Manuels and Richard Stone in the Department of Objects Conservation; Mark Wypyski in the Department of Scientific Research; Barbara Boehm, Melanie Holcomb, and Theo Margelony in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, and Maryan Ainsworth in the Department of European Paintings. I would also like to thank Juan Trujillo for the beautiful photography of the crossbow and Joanna Ekman for her superb editing.

Furthermore, I am greatly indebted to Peter Rückert, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart, for continuous help with difficult archival research, and to Rainer Leng, Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Würzburg, for sharing his research, both published and unpublished, on relevant German *Büchsenmeister-* and *Feuerwerks-Bücher*. Finally, I wish to thank the following for information, images, and advice: Oliver Auge and Karl-Heinz Spiess, University of Greifswald; Alfred Bütikhofer, Stadtarchiv, Winterthur; Ian Eaves, London; Robert Giel, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin; Bruno Klein and Stefan Bürger, Technische Universität, Dresden; Dietmar Mieth, Eberhard Karls Universität, Tübingen (Meister-Eckhardt-Gesellschaft); Norbert Ott, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Munich; Moritz Paysan and Heike Schröder, Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart; Magdalene Popp-Grilli, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Handschriftenabteilung), Stuttgart; Jörg Poettgen, Overath; Lieselotte E. Saurma-Jeltsch, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität, Heidelberg; Matthias Senn, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich; and Elisabeth Vetter, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek, Lucerne.

NOTES

1. See de Cosson 1901. My colleague Stuart Pyhrr is currently preparing a comprehensive article on the duc de Dino and his collection.
2. De Cosson 1893; part of his article was summarized in the crossbow's catalogue entry in de Cosson 1901, p. 93.
3. Dean 1905, p. 123; Laking 1920–22, vol. 3 (1922), pp. 135–36; Dean 1925, p. 155; Dean and Grancsay 1930, p. 101; Nickel 1991, p. 40; Paterson 1990, p. 68 (illus. only); Frakes 2004, pp. 68–69; Richter 2006, pp. 42–43; Breiding 2007, pp. 104–5.
4. No further information has come to light regarding the crossbow's early provenance as given by de Cosson 1893, p. 451. It has been impossible to verify the intermittent Paris provenance, nor has it been possible to identify the weapon in any surviving inventories. The majority of inventories of the Württemberg households (relating to the main residences in Stuttgart and Urach) are kept in the Hauptstaatsarchiv in Stuttgart. To date, I have been unable to locate any inventories of Château Montbéliard, which may be kept elsewhere, or of Château Gorgier, which may still be found in the archives of Neuchâtel. It is possible that Count Ulrich gave the crossbow away as a present during his lifetime, in keeping with common customs of the period. (On July 30, 1473, for instance, Markgrave Johann von Brandenburg wrote to his father, Albrecht von Brandenburg [Count Ulrich's hunting companion], requesting three crossbows, since the two that his father had presented him during his last visit had been given away as gifts; see Steinhausen 1899, p. 124.) Alternatively, the crossbow may have passed to one of Count Ulrich's heirs upon his death in 1480; no crossbow is mentioned among the weapons carried in the count's funerary procession, which took place in Stuttgart on October 8, 1480 (Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Bestand Württembergische Regesten, A 602, Nr. 211 = WR211). Nevertheless, a direct link between a count of Württemberg and Count Pourtales-Gorgier's castle at Gorgier through the Burgundian-Swiss Wars, as suggested by de Cosson (1893, p. 452) and, subsequently, Richter (2006, p. 43), seems rather unlikely. Despite close and cordial connections with the Burgundian court until at least the late 1460s, Württemberg loyalties and the political landscape changed drastically during the 1470s. Neither of the counts of Burgundian-Swiss wars (1474/75–77), nor did any count participate personally in campaigns against the last duke of Burgundy (except at the relief of the German city of Neuss, near Cologne). Unless the crossbow had already been given to a duke of Burgundy, or a member of his retinue, as a present in the years before the Burgundian-Swiss Wars, the theory that our crossbow may have found its way into the castle of Gorgier as part of booty taken by the victorious Swiss from the Burgundian camps can be disregarded. For the relations between Württemberg and Charles of Burgundy, see Fritz 1999, pp. 377–96, and Baum 1993.
5. This custom was particularly widespread in German-speaking lands and in other European areas where primogeniture was not prevalent. In German-speaking areas the practice of dividing property and rights to property among several offspring could lead to situations in which a castle was co-owned by numerous members of the same family, or even by members from several different families; such owners were referred to as “coheirs” (*Ganerben*).
6. This subject will be treated more comprehensively by the author in an essay for a catalogue of European crossbows and related archery equipment in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, currently in preparation. The most recent publication on the subject is the 2006 monograph by Richter.
7. Among the more than thirty European crossbows in the Metropolitan Museum's collection only five date from the fifteenth century: 04.3.36 (the example under discussion, currently on display); 14.25.1575a, a crossbow of the late fifteenth or possibly early sixteenth century (currently in storage); 25.42, a crossbow that belonged to Matthias Corvinus (currently on display); 29.16.14 (currently on loan to the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore); and 29.158.647 (currently on display).
8. To name but one example, see a letter, dated March 11, 1473, from King Christian of Denmark to Albrecht Achilles, markgrave of Brandenburg (1414–1486), accompanying the gift—among other interesting weapons—of a Danish “crossbow with its trigger as it is customarily made and carried in our lands” (“eyn armbrust mit sinem tüge, als hiir in unnsen landen tho makende unde to förende wönlick is”); see the full transcription in Steinhausen 1899, p. 105.
9. One of the first authors to devote any attention to this subject since de Cosson is Richter 2006; see his very informative chapter, pp. 119–58.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
11. Some evidence for the marking of crossbows as a guild requirement does exist: for example, the 1425 statutes of the guild of crossbow makers of the northern German city of Lübeck state that “every crossbow maker shall put his mark upon the bow of the crossbow as a sign that he will and shall hold his work as honest” (“ein islik armborster schal sin merke setten uppe den bogen der armborste to enem teken, dat he sin werk rechtverdic waren wil unde schal”); see Homeyer 1870, p. 338. Some instances of marks on the stocks of surviving fifteenth-century crossbows are illustrated in Richter 2006, pp. 37, 39, 44, 83, 123; whether the rosette-shaped mark on each nock of a crossbow of about 1400 in the Stadtmuseum, Cologne (W 1109), is a maker's mark or perhaps just a simple form of decoration is difficult to ascertain (*ibid.*, p. 27). The belly of the (steel) bow would, however, become the standard place during the sixteenth century for makers to mark their products. Finally, makers' marks may also be found on the trigger (*ibid.*, p. 172), but such examples are probably those of a specialized blacksmith or metalworker (like those commonly found on spanning devices such as the cranequin).
12. The only such attribution known to the author is that of a fifteenth-century crossbow, a quiver, and eight(?) bolts in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich (crossbow: IN 46; quiver: KZ 215), which Hugo Schneider (1976, pp. 62, 115) attributed to Ulrich Bock, a crossbow maker from Freiburg, recorded in Zurich from 1461 to 1465. Although his attribution, for the crossbow at least, is perfectly feasible, Schneider unfortunately gives no explanation for it (nor does he provide a reference for the documentary evidence for Ulrich Bock). Given that quiver and bolts are associated and that the crossbow was, in fact, acquired on the art market in 1889, his proposal must remain, at best, tentative (email communication with Matthias Senn, Landesmuseum, Zurich, April 2009).
13. These include two examples in the Metropolitan Museum, the present one and that of Matthias Corvinus (see note 7 above); the gigantic crossbow, surely a *Rüstung*, dating from about 1460–70 and known to have belonged to the Austrian baron Andreas Baumkircher (executed in 1471), in the Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Vienna (A 108); an example (with steel bow) from the last quarter of the fifteenth century, with arms of the Vels-Colonna family, in the Wallace Collection, London (A 1032); and an example from the end of the fifteenth century, with arms of the Fuger (or Fügen) fam-

- ily, today in a private collection (formerly in the Zschille Collection, Saxony; see Forrer [ca. 1893], pls. 201, 202). Mention should also be made of the heraldry associated with Matthias Corvinus found interspersed within the decoration on the composite bows of a group of fifteenth-century crossbows, today in the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu (Hermanstadt), Romania, and originally from that city's arsenal; see Richter 2006, pp. 59–61. Their relatively plain stocks and common provenance seem to suggest, however, that these weapons may have been the outfit of a group of crossbowmen (perhaps the supply for a bodyguard or hunting party), rather than the personal possession of the king.
14. The elaborate decoration on the other crossbow (MMA 25.42) includes the arms of Matthias Corvinus; see Dean 1925, as well as the relevant entry in the forthcoming MMA catalogue of crossbows (see note 6 above).
 15. See note 2 above. A nut is also missing; see note 25 below.
 16. Detailed measurements are: length of tiller 26¾ in. (67.9 cm); length of trigger overall 11 1/8 in. (28.3 cm); length, rear end of tiller to center of the spanning lugs 11 7/8 in. (30.3 cm); height, lower end of key to top of nut 5 1/4 in. (13.4 cm); height, rear end of tiller 1 7/8 in. (4.9 cm); height, tiller at center/nut 2 1/4 in. (5.8 cm); height, front of tiller including bolt guide 3 1/8 in. (7.8 cm); height, bow at center 2 1/8 in. (5.5 cm); width, tiller at rear 1 1/8 in. (3 cm); width, greatest width at center/nut 2 1/2 in. (6.2 cm); width, tiller at joint with bow 1 1/2 in. (3.8 cm); thickness, bow at center 1 7/8 in. (4.7 cm); thickness, bow at either end approximately 1 1/4 in. (3.2 cm).
 17. The *Halbe Rüstung* was smaller than siege crossbows (*Wallarmbrust*) or the *Rüstung*, both of which, because of size and weight, were usually either mounted or needed some other kind of support. The two categories that were even smaller than the *Halbe Rüstung* are known as the *Viertelrüstung* (quarter-size equipment), or *Schnepper*; and the *Balestrini*, or *Kleinschnepper*. For detailed definitions of these modern categories, which are nonetheless based on contemporary documents, see Harmuth 1971, p. 129 (with earlier literature); or, especially for earlier periods and documentary evidence, Wilson 2007.
 18. Despite taking several images at different kV dosages, it could not be determined with absolute certainty whether the backing consists of wood or some other organic material such as baleen or leather.
 19. Examination by the MMA Department of Paper Conservation suggests that the pattern of paint on the bark covering was applied by printing (rather than painting). Surprisingly, the printing appears to have occurred *after* the bark was applied to the bow. Such a procedure would seem needlessly difficult and cumbersome unless it was not only the paint but the process itself that helped to seal the bark covering and protect the bow from moisture. Further research into this technique is required.
 20. Richter 2006, pp. 17ff. Although most authors on the subject usually state that the composite bow was introduced from the East during the Crusades, there is sufficient evidence to challenge this assumption. See, for example, Credland 1990, p. 19, and Paterson 1990, pp. 68–69.
 21. Evidence for the use of steel bows can be found from the early fourteenth century onward, but to judge from surviving specimens and pictorial evidence, they were not in common use before about 1500.
 22. If this bow is indeed the original one, a decoration consisting only of a pattern of dots seems rather plain for such an elaborate weapon. Given that the ties are a later replacement, one may speculate that the weapon was originally fitted with a much more elaborately decorated bow.
 23. Birch wood is not particularly hard or durable (in terms of stress or pressure), but its longevity and relative resistance to both dryness and moisture make it a suitable material for the stocks of crossbows and firearms.
 24. Such lugs could also be used for more simple spanning devices, such as a rope-and-pulley system or a pulling-lever, commonly known as a “goat’s foot lever.”
 25. De Cosson 1893, pl. 34, shows the weapon clearly without a nut; the present example must therefore be a later replacement (since de Cosson’s 1901 catalogue does not illustrate the crossbow, it cannot be established whether the present nut was added by de Cosson himself or at a later date, when the object was in the Dino collection or in the Metropolitan Museum). The heavily reinforced nut found on the crossbow today, if original, probably came from a weapon dating from the second half of the sixteenth century or later.
 26. The practice of adorning (iron) arms and armor with elements of copper alloy is frequently evident on armor and other weapons from throughout the fifteenth century. In the Metropolitan Museum’s collection see, for example, the hilt of a sword (55.46.1), a late fourteenth-century visor (29.154.3a), late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century elements of armor from Chalcis (29.150.91f, g), the head of a fifteenth-century boar spear (14.25.321), or the late fifteenth-century helmet (*sallet*), probably of Maximilian I (29.156.45).
 27. The floral carving is too generalized to allow any detailed comparison to other works of art; nonetheless, its density is not unlike the floral decoration found in the margins of contemporary manuscript illuminations such as those in the Book of Hours of Louis, count of Piémont and future duke of Savoy (see note 79 below).
 28. These, in addition to similar traces in the third banderole and inscription (see below), were the only signs of pigmentation or painting that a thorough examination revealed. The remaining parts of the crossbow’s stock do not appear to have been painted or stained. It should be noted, however, that several areas of the stock show signs of thorough cleaning, and it may thus be possible that pigmentation or painting of other parts has been lost.
 29. I am grateful to Helmut Nickel, as well as my colleague Theo Margelony in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, for reviewing my descriptions of the blazons of the two coats of arms.
 30. A heraldic shield, unless shown frontally, is usually depicted as if carried by its owner (whose helmet appears above), and it is thus tilted, or pointing, to the left. Because heraldic descriptions reflect the viewpoint of the person wearing the shield (rather than that of the observer), however, a shield that is tilting or facing left to the eye of the observer is described as facing right (in Latin, *dexter*).
 31. The description of the two coats of arms is given heraldically correct, that is, complete as if emblazoned, or fully colored, even though the actual carvings do not show any traces of polychromy. The mantling in Count Ulrich’s donor portrait (see Figure 14) is shown only in red (*gules*), although the combination of red and gold (*gules* and *or*) appears to have been more usual.
 32. The small 9s used in the transcription here approximate the small scrolls, very similar to 9s, that serve as abbreviation indicators in the original inscription.
 33. I am grateful to Dr. Andreas Heinz, professor of liturgical sciences (*Liturgiewissenschaft*) at the Theological Faculty of the University of Trier, for confirming my transcription and for offering helpful information concerning the possible meaning and liturgical context of this inscription (email communication of July 20, 2008). It was after he suggested that the “te” after “speciosa” makes no

- sense that I reexamined the panel and found that these last two letters are not necessarily “te” and, furthermore, that there appears to be a sign of abbreviation (macron) above the last letter. In this specific context, therefore, a reading of “aō” (for *anno*) or perhaps “ad” (for *anno domini*) seems more probable; alternatively, if these letters were indeed meant to be read as “te,” they may be a simple mistake related to the fact that the inscription on the opposite panel ends with “te.”
34. Professor Heinz further states that the inscription is not long or detailed enough to offer information for a more specific identification. Although the verse is almost certainly taken from either a rhymed prayer, hymn, or rhymed office to the Virgin Mary, the liturgical context unfortunately cannot be identified more closely and could have been associated with or used during any holiday or celebration dedicated to Mary. As Professor Heinz emphasizes, in “a late medieval Liber Precum (prayer book) such a text would have been usable at any occasion.” On the same grounds it is also impossible to identify a specific geographical region or chronological context from which this inscription may have originated, since he notes that such a verse could have been in use in any other region during the fifteenth century.
 35. The figure in the upper scale may in fact be a small tower; in contemporary paintings the tower is often accompanied by one or two small demons, symbolizing the devil’s attempt to “weigh down” the soul, as, for example, in the Saint Michael panel from an altar of about 1470 in the parish church at Kiedrich (Rheingau, near Wiesbaden); for other examples, see Jezler 1994, pp. 332–34, nos. 126, 127.
 36. De Cosson 1893, p. 451.
 37. Compare, for example, the textile patterns depicted in the illuminations of the Tavernier Book of Hours, Southern Low Countries, ca. 1450, today in the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels (KBR ms. IV 1290), see *Tavernier Book of Hours* 2002, e.g., fols. 28r, 31r, 35r, 39r, or 55r. I am grateful to my colleague Tom Campbell, who confirmed that the ornament, although not unlike that found in some Italian textiles, is too generic to be specifically or exclusively identified as Italian (personal communication, June 2008).
 38. Count Ulrich married Margaret of Savoy, daughter of Duke Amadeus VIII of Savoy and herself twice a widow, in Stuttgart in November 1453. The erroneous statement that Count Ulrich married Margaret in 1460 (de Cosson 1893, p. 452) was corrected most recently by Richter (2006, p. 42). The correction of this error also negates de Cosson’s assumption that the crossbow may have been a wedding present, brought from Savoy.
 39. See, for example, the miniature *Goddess Diana Hunting a Stag* from *L’Épître Othéa* contained in a manuscript of works by Christine de Pizan, French (Paris), ca. 1410–14 (MS Harley 4431, fol. 124, British Library, London). Despite extensive research, I have so far been able to find only one fifteenth-century image of a woman using a crossbow, contained in a French manuscript of Boccaccio’s *De mulieribus claris*, ca. 1460, and showing Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, hunting a leopard, lion, bear, and wolf (MS 0381, fol. 62r, Morgan Museum and Library, New York). It is noteworthy that neither illumination depicts a woman of the fifteenth century but, rather, a mythical person and a figure of antiquity, respectively (although both are shown in contemporary costume). In later periods, depictions of women hunting with crossbows become more frequent; see, for example, the series of paintings commemorating several hunts of the Saxon dukes (dating from the first half of the sixteenth century) that are today divided among Vienna, Madrid, Glasgow, and Cleveland. See also Francis 1959. For a general account of women hunting, see Fietze 2005.
 40. When the arms of spouses were depicted together, it was customary that the husband’s arms would be turned (so that they were facing to the left, or sinister) in order to “face” those of his wife, out of “respect” (or as it is referred to in heraldry, a *courtoisie*). Such pairings were of course ubiquitous in fifteenth-century heraldic, artistic, and public contexts; an apt example is the heraldry in the two panels depicting Count Ulrich and his three wives (Figures 14, 15). On the crossbow, the carver of the panels faced a dilemma, since the two coats of arms cannot be seen as a pair; allowing the Württemberg arms to face sinister, therefore, would have made little sense. I am grateful to Helmut Nickel for discussing this interesting heraldic conundrum with me (email exchanges of November 2008 and February 2009). See also note 30 above.
 41. For the most recent biographical account, especially of Ulrich’s public and political life, see Fritz 1999 (with extensive bibliography); a discussion of the earlier literature is found in the introduction, pp. 1–20. For Württemberg’s elevation to a dukedom, see Molitor et al. 1995.
 42. For the close relations with Duke Philip of Burgundy (two of Count Ulrich’s sons had been educated at the Burgundian court in Dijon), see Fritz 1999, pp. 373–74.
 43. *Ibid.*, pp. 258–81.
 44. *Ibid.*, p. 428.
 45. The scene is found on the left wing of the cross altar from the Augustinian abbey church at Polling, near Weilheim in Upper Bavaria, today in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (1369). The altar depicts scenes from the life of Duke Tassilo of Bavaria (r. 748–88) but is dated 1444 (the painting of the side wings was executed some ten years later, about 1455) and accordingly shows the duke and his companions in mid-fifteenth-century costume; see Hoffmann 2007, especially pp. 135–36 and 231–36.
 46. Simon Studion was a Latin teacher in Stuttgart and Marbach who pursued an early archaeological interest in the history of the Württemberg dynasty at the behest of Duke Friedrich I of Württemberg (1557–1608). The manuscript, today in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart (Cod. hist. fol. 57), is entitled *Vera origo illustrissimæ et antiquissimæ domus Wirtenbergicæ* . . . and bears the date 1597; the notes and sketches of Castle Marbach are found on fols. 151r–153v. See Heyd 1889, pp. 26–27, and Kulf 1988. An inscription accompanying the first sketch of this group, showing Ulrich in armor and kneeling in front of a Crucifixion, specifically states that this chamber was made (*gezümet*, or carpentered) for the count in 1467 (see fol. 151v).
 47. Unfortunately, these are only short summary references (“calendars,” or *Regesten*), since the original documents were destroyed in 1944. Thus, no further information is known concerning more details such as seals.
 48. Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Bestand Kanzleiregister (Urkunden), Bd. XXI, WR1363 (Bl. 16), destroyed 1944.
 49. The term *Werkmeister* appears to have been used in a military sense since at least the early fifteenth until well into the sixteenth century; for examples, see J. Grimm and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 29 XIV² (1960), cols. 385–88. In Lucerne, a certain “heinrich smit” is recorded as crossbow maker in 1443 and appointed as *Werkmeister* in 1463; see Türlér 1921–34, vol. 6 (1931), p. 204. Also in 1443, Hans Baldhoffer “the crossbow maker” is accepted by Count Johann von Wertheim as a citizen in Wertheim and appointed *Werkmeister* for both the count and the city; see the charter of November 5, 1443, Gräfliche Freiungsbriefe und Ernennungen (G-Rep. 9a/1 Lade XXXII Nr. 14), Staatsarchiv Wertheim. Günther Binding does not mention the third possible meaning of this term in his relevant entry “Werkmeister” in *Lexikon*

- des Mittelalters* 1977–99, vol. 8, cols. 2205–6. The fact that *Werkmeister* can also be used as a term for a “master of military works” has received more scholarly attention only recently; Richter (2006, p. 128) mentions *Werkmeister* as a term synonymous with “crossbow maker” in Scandinavia. As yet, however, it appears uncertain to what extent this term differs from, or overlaps with, other contemporary professions in the field of military engineering, such as *Schirmeister/Schirmeister* or—owing to the increasing predominance of firearms—the one in charge of artillery, the *Büchsenmeister* (master of guns). There appears to be no literature dealing with this aspect in detail, but it has recently become the focus of more detailed study. I am grateful to Bruno Klein and Stefan Bürger, organizers of the 2007 symposium *Werkmeister der Spätgotik*—which dealt with the architectural aspects of the profession—for briefly discussing this problem with me (email communication of April 2009).
50. Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Bestand Kanzleiregister (Urkunden), Bd. XX, WR1167 (Bl. 23), destroyed 1944.
 51. See note 53 below for some comparative house prices.
 52. Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Bestand Kanzleiregister (Urkunden), Bd. XXI, WR1459 (Bl. 51), destroyed 1944.
 53. This Auberlen Georg or Auberlin Jerg or Jörg (recorded 1448–77), the count’s master mason and citizen in Stuttgart, appears to have been relatively wealthy. In 1455, Count Ulrich had already sold him a prominent house in Stuttgart for 500 gulden (Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Bestand Kanzleiregister [Urkunden], Bd. XX, WR1159, Bl. 15b, destroyed 1944). About a year later, by comparison, Count Ulrich’s goldsmith bought two houses “in front of the castle of Stuttgart” for only 200 gulden (*ibid.*, Bl. 17). In 1466, Count Ulrich again sold to Auberlin Jörg, “his mason” and a citizen in Cannstatt (a city near Stuttgart), an apparently similarly illustrious house, an “estate” (*Hof*), in nearby Schwieberdingen, this time for the sum of 510 gulden (*ibid.*, WR1253, Bl. 173b, destroyed 1944). Apart from being an indication of Georg’s wealth, these prices appear to indicate that what may be called the housing market in and around Stuttgart remained relatively unaffected by the 1461–62 war.
 54. The name of Heinrich Heid von Winterthur, crossbow maker, has been published before: first in Pfeilsticker 1957, p. 258; also Schneider 1976, p. 137; and, quoting Schneider as its source, Heer 1978, p. 512. The statement that Heid “worked for a while for the Count of Württemberg in Stuttgart” implies that Schneider knew, or knew of, the documents in the Stuttgart Hauptstaatsarchiv; neither publication provides a reference for the statement “recorded 1455.” To date, it has been impossible to find a document of 1455, nor have Schneider’s notes in the object files of the Zurich Landesmuseum yielded any further information (email correspondence with Dr. Senn, April 2009). Finally, an entry for the catalogue accompanying the Landesausstellung in Stuttgart (Breiding 2007, p. 105) attributed this crossbow to Heid, although without giving detailed reasons at the time.
 55. Richter 2006, p. 42.
 56. Despite extensive archival research, I have been unable to find a single fifteenth-century German, Austrian, or Swiss crossbow maker who is identified as a Jew. Although some instances from thirteenth-century England mention Jewish “crossbowmen” in the service of King John (r. 1199–1216) and King Henry III (r. 1216–72), it seems more likely that these were archers (i.e., soldiers) using the crossbow rather than craftsmen producing the weapon; see Stacey 1992, p. 266 (I am grateful to Vivian B. Mann of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, for providing this source; email correspondence of October 2, 2006, between Dr. Mann and Stuart Pyhrr, Department of Arms and Armor). Christine Magin (2003) has successfully demonstrated that the right to bear arms was not as restricted during the medieval and early modern period as is commonly thought (Magin has kindly confirmed that no instance of Jewish crossbow makers are recorded; email communication, April 2009).
 57. Evidence from fifteenth-century written sources does not support the assumption that the maker of the present crossbow could have been Jewish. The Jewish cemetery in Wertheim (near Würzburg) is, together with that of Prague, one of the most important Jewish cemeteries in Europe, and it possesses no fewer than seventy-two tombstones from the fifteenth century (ranging in date from 1405 to 1494). None of these stones makes reference to the name Heinrich; see Rapp 1964. It is not until the seventeenth century that members of the Jewish population in the German-speaking lands appear to have adopted the name Heinrich.
 58. See also note 11 above.
 59. While the Star of David in medieval rose windows may still be regarded as a reference to the Old Testament, it is also found in other contexts such as heraldry (as part of coats of arms, on both Jewish and non-Jewish seals); see Rudolf Schmitz, “Davidstern,” in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1977–99, vol. 3, col. 608.
 60. See Hauser 1909, pp. 105–6.
 61. If Heinrich Heid was still employed as *Werkmeister* in the summer of 1462, it is quite likely that he would have accompanied Count Ulrich on his ill-fated campaign. Although it cannot be said for certain, it nevertheless seems unlikely that he came to any harm during the battle at Seckenheim: it is recorded that Count Ulrich was only in the company of his mounted men-at-arms by the time his parties and those of his allies met their enemies, while the rest of his troops remained at their fortified camp. The count was released from captivity ten months later, after he had personally agreed—among many other conditions—to the payment of an enormous ransom of 100,000 gulden, a financial burden on court and county for years to come; see Fritz 1999, pp. 255–78.
 62. The surviving court registers (*Hofordnung*) of people in the employ of Counts Ulrich and Eberhard, as well as Countess Margaret (dating from about 1472 and about 1478, respectively), do not specifically mention crossbow makers, although other craftsmen are listed, including a certain Kaspar Windenmacher (cranequin maker), who had been appointed in 1466 (active until 1477 and recorded until 1486), as well as the fletcher *pflschnitzer selband* (recorded 1478); furthermore it lists a *wintmeister* (Kaspar Windenmacher?), and Hans Bussemeister (master of guns); see Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Bestand Hausarchiv (Ulrich V.), Bd. XXI B. 4, WR 191 (document of ca. 1472), and Bd. XXI B. 9 and 10, WR 205 (document of 1478). An entry for *zwen snitzer* (two carvers or sculptors) may possibly refer to crossbow makers; for the term *snitzer* as a reference to crossbow makers, see J. Grimm and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 15 (1899), col. 1365, and Richter 2006, pp. 127, 129. The listings for cranequin maker and fletcher leave little doubt that Count Ulrich had continued need for the services of a crossbow maker, either in his own employ or working in the Stuttgart region, but the circumstantial evidence is inconclusive: in 1465, Count Ulrich, in return for a similar gift, sent arms and armor to a duke of Cleve and Mark, probably Johann I, including a crossbow, quiver, arrows, and a cranequin; whether these had been made in Stuttgart, purchased elsewhere, or simply taken from his armory, we do not know; see Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, Findbuch (103.04.01-07 Kleve-Mark, Akten), Akte Nr. 28. Likewise, the long-promised crossbow that Count Ulrich jokingly requests in a letter dated October 6, 1466, to his frequent hunting companion Albrecht Achilles is not

- necessarily an indication that he no longer employs his own crossbow maker; transcript in Steinhausen 1899, vol. 1, p. 76. The particular meaning of this passage is misunderstood by Melanie Rupprecht (2005–6), who implies that Count Ulrich had sent a crossbow and is now expecting a shipment of bolts in return, when in fact Count Ulrich jokes that, after waiting so long for the promised crossbow, he would like to have the bolts instead.
63. In this document Jakob Heid agrees to go on pilgrimage as a condition for being released from captivity. If we assume that Jakob was at least sixteen or eighteen years of age in order to undertake such a journey, he would have been born in the early 1470s, a time frame that would allow the possibility that his father and the crossbow maker Heinrich Heid von Winterthur were one and the same person. See Ringholz 1896, p. 109. Nevertheless, I could find no record of a crossbow maker by the name of Heinrich Heid in Basel, unless it is Heinrich Heiden, “an armorer called crossbow maker” (recorded 1448) mentioned—without reference—in Schneider 1976, p. 137.
 64. In this context it may be noteworthy that his employer’s wife, Margaret of Savoy, undertook a journey to Switzerland in autumn 1470, during which she also visited the area of Zurich; perhaps Heid accompanied the countess and then remained in Basel.
 65. Although the S-shape of the banderole may be an allusion to Saint Sebastian, patron saint of archers and crossbowmen, there is insufficient evidence that this symbolism and meaning are intended here: S-shaped scrolls containing inscriptions are frequently found in fifteenth-century art, and their shape can carry varied meanings, if any. Compare, for example, the (reversed) S-shaped band, containing a religious inscription in medieval Czech, on one of the Metropolitan’s Bohemian ceremonial arrowheads (1984.17; for a summary with all relevant literature, see Breiding 2005b); or the numerous scrolls, including reversed examples, found in the margins of the illuminations of the pontifical of Ferry de Clugny, bishop of Tournai, made in the southern Netherlands (Bruges) in about 1475–76 (Günther 2009, [pp. 11–12], no. 8).
 66. These experts were the noted Bible scholar Dr. Christian David Ginsburg (1831–1914) and Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge (1857–1934), philologist and then assistant keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum. See de Cosson 1893, p. 451.
 67. De Cosson 1901, p. 93.
 68. In the Metropolitan Museum’s collection see, for example, the pseudo-lettering on the border of the mantle of a bishop saint (Saint Alexander?) by Fra Angelico, ca. 1425 (1991.27.2); the borders of the clothing of two soldiers in the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, attributed to the Master of the Acts of Mercy, Strasbourg or Salzburg, ca. 1465 (1981.365.1); or, as late as 1517, the pseudo-inscription on the (sword?) pommel in the portrait of Benedikt von Hertenstein by Hans Holbein the Younger (06.1038). See also note 103 below.
 69. This was undertaken by Ludwig Wolpert (1900–1981), an instructor at the Jewish Museum in New York; unpublished files in the archives of the Department of Arms and Armor.
 70. Unpublished files in the archives of the Department of Arms and Armor.
 71. Frakes 2004.
 72. The two languages were, of course, inseparably linked, especially during the early formation of Yiddish as a language in the Rhineland between the eleventh and the thirteenth century; see the relevant entries (with further literature) in the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1977–99, vol. 5, col. 370, s.v. “Jiddisch,” and Ulrich Mattejiet, “Jüdische Sprachen und Literaturen,” in the same volume, cols. 795–96.
 73. Frakes (2004, pp. 68–69) suggested “[I] love God and [I] have courage’ [or] ‘[I] love well and [I] have affection’ . . . as appropriate for such a weapon.”
 74. The chivalric virtue of *hoher muot* (in the sense of “noble or exalted joy”) is a central topic of courtly romances by numerous authors such as Hartmann von Aue (died ca. 1210–20), Wolfram von Eschenbach (ca. 1170–ca. 1220), and Gottfried von Strassburg (died ca. 1215). It is particularly interesting that the author Der Stricker (first half of the thirteenth century), in his romance *Karl der Große*, specifically emphasizes that “what is in man’s heart is what we call *muot*” (“swaz in des mannes herzen ist, daz wir dâ heizen der muot”); quoted from *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (Stuttgart, 1990), vol. 2, pp. 242ff. (with further examples and literature). Instances of the exact phrase *hōch herze* appear to be rarer: it is found once in Wolfram von Eschenbach’s *Willehalm* (7:26), dating from after 1217 (quoted in Lachmann 1879, p. 426). A fifteenth-century instance is found in a translation by Niklas von Wyle (ca. 1410–1479) titled *Wie ain husvater hus haben sölle etc.* (How a Father Shall Lead His Household etc.), quoted in von Wyle 1967, p. 154 (fol. 101r). This quotation is discussed below (note 112). For chivalric virtues in general, see Eifer 1970.
 75. References to the name Hochhertze can occasionally be found from at least the fourteenth century onward, although the name appears to have been relatively rare; examples include a citizen of Königsee, Bertoldus dictus Hochhertze (recorded 1338), the Thuringian noblewoman Margaretha von Hochhertz (d. 1468), and the Basel stonemason Konrad Hochhertz (recorded 1508/9); see Anemüller 1905, pp. 197–98; Zacke 1861, p. 95; and Brun 1905–17, vol. 4 (1917 suppl.), p. 219, respectively. Since no connection between anyone bearing this name and the Württemberg court could be established to date, it seems rather unlikely that the last two words of the inscription refer directly to a person with that surname.
 76. Even in German, the meaning of this expression is far from clear: the most convincing explanation is that Count Ulrich may have suffered from a hereditary illness and is cursing the prescribed herbal medicine *Nieswurz* (a plant of the *Helleborus* family); see Raff 1988, pp. 295, 300.
 77. *Ibid.*
 78. This motto, as well as the knot device, is associated with the chivalric Order of the Collar (since 1518, the Order of the Most Holy Annunciation), founded in 1362 by Margaret’s great-grandfather, Amadeus VI, count of Savoy (r. 1343–83). Apart from various later interpretations, the original meaning of the four letters *FERT* has been interpreted either as an allusion to the victory at Rhodes in 1310 by Count Amadeus V—standing for “Fortitudo eius Rhodum tulit” (Through his fortitude he held Rhodes)—or as simply the third person singular of the Latin verb *ferre* (to carry) in the present indicative tense, meaning “he/it carries” in the sense of “he/it holds” or “he/it supports,” perhaps a reference to the order’s allegiance to the Virgin Mary. See Calderari 1977 (with further literature).
 79. The motto was in fact added to the order’s collar in 1409 by Margaret’s father, Amadeus VIII, and as such, the use of both motto and device may have been restricted to male members of the Savoy family. Motto and knot device are shown together with the Savoy coat of arms in an illumination in a book of hours, made in Savoy about 1451–58 for Count Louis (the future Duke Amadeus IX, and nephew of Margaret), today in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart (HB I 175, fol. 2v). For the manuscript, see Fiala and Hauke 1970, pp. 48–51, and Gardet 1981; it is not clear how the manuscript came to Stuttgart, although the assumption that Margaret may have acquired it herself is tempting (see Gardet 1981, pp. 22, 27).
 80. As part of a larger project, these manuscripts have been at the center of a comprehensive Internet presentation focusing on man-

- uscripts illuminated in Upper Germany during the fifteenth century: see <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/fachinfo/www/kunst/digi/welcome.html> (with literature) and Lähnemann 2002. One of the most telling examples of Margaret of Savoy's passionate interest in illuminated manuscripts is probably her (unsuccessful) attempt to acquire the Book of Hours of Charles the Bold from the victorious Swiss; see Deuchler 1963, pp. 48, 349.
81. For Henfflin and his workshop, see <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/fachinfo/www/kunst/digi/henfflin/Welcome.html>.
 82. For Tepl's *Ackermann aus Böhmen* (University Library, Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 76), see <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/fachinfo/www/kunst/digi/henfflin/cpg76.html>; for *Friedrich von Schwaben* (University Library, Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 345), see <http://diglit.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg345/>.
 83. The *Schreiberspruch* is found on the last page of each manuscript (on fol. 32v in the *Ackermann aus Böhmen*, and on fol. 379v of *Friedrich von Schwaben*); only the latter one contains the middle line "Und den nagsten alls dich selbs." See also note 82 above.
 84. In German, the verb *lieb haben* (imperative: *hab' lieb*) can be translated as "to hold dear" but, more strongly, can also be used synonymously with *lieben* (to love); in order to keep as closely to the original wording as possible, I have translated the line with the three-word option: "hold God dear" (see also note 85 below).
 85. The specific passage is found in Eckhart's sermon "Praedica verbum, vigila, in omnibus labora" (usually referred to as his thirtieth sermon); see Largier 1993, vol. 1, p. 343 (with a list of specific manuscripts). Late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century German manuscripts of this sermon use the Middle High German term *minne* for "to love," but the words *lieben* and *lieb haben* (to love and to hold dear) can already be found in Eckhart's own writings and become commonplace in copies of his manuscripts during the fourteenth century; I am grateful to Professor Dietmar Mieth for confirming these findings (email communication of March 2009). In the same context the phrase is found in a treatise on the "Love of God," dating from about 1430, by an unknown author (probably the Carthusian Nikolaus von Kempf of Strasbourg); see Paulus 1928. Although not published until 1518, the work *Von den Sünden des Munds* (*Of the Sins of the Mouth*) by one of the most famous German preachers of the period, Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445–1510), is a good indication that passages about the most important commandments were frequently included in public sermons; the particular phrase is quoted in J. Grimm and W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1 (1854), col. 1153 (s.v. "basz"). For Geiler von Kaysersberg's preaching activities, see the relevant chapters in Voltmer 2005.
 86. See, for example, a manuscript of about 1467–70, *Erklärung der zehn Gebote* (The Explanation of the Ten Commandments), by the fourteenth-century Franciscan Marquard von Lindenau, given by Count Ulrich's nephew, Count Eberhard, to a local monastery in 1480. It is today in the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart (Cod. theol. et phil. 2o 240); see Irtenkauf 1985, p. 161, no. 169.
 87. See Stievermann 1989 and Neidiger 1993, pp. 74–76.
 88. Several of Master Eckhart's writings had been banned by the pope in 1329, but this censure did nothing to prevent their continued dissemination; see Largier 1993, vol. 1, pp. 721, 722–27.
 89. *Ibid.*, p. 343.
 90. For a concise summary of the use of this phrase in Germany (with further literature), see Häussling 1991.
 91. On Seuse's *Vita*, see Williams-Krapp 2004. Seuse devotes an entire chapter (chapter 9) to the interpretation of this phrase in his *Vita*, an account of his life that is autobiographical but relates the events in a third-person narrative; it appears to have been at least partially edited by the mystic himself.
 92. For a selection, see *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 5 (1997), pp. 193–99. After about 1500 the use of the phrase becomes even more widespread, not only in religious and secular literature but also as decoration on (art) objects. Among numerous examples from throughout the German-speaking regions, it is found on a wooden pulpit, carved by Erhard Falkener of Abensberg and dated 1511, in the Basilica Saint Aegidius in the German town of Oestrich-Winkel (Hessen); in 1559 it is recorded on a wooden ceiling in a patrician's house in the Austrian town of Krems (see Kinzl 1869, pp. 134–35); while in the Swiss town of Jenaz it can still be seen, together with the date of 1579, on an outside wall of the old vicarage, or *Pfrundhaus* (see Rüegg 1970, p. 309). As late as 1747 it is found on a dated Swiss stained-glass roundel showing the arms of Johannes Schweitzer; see Bendel 1879, p. 32 (an insert titled "Verzeichnis der in der culturhistorischen Sammlung des historischen Vereins befindlichen Glasgemälde" [List of the stained glass in the collection of the Historical Society]).
 93. This text, the *Erkenntnis der Sünde* (Knowledge of Sin), by Heinrich von Langenstein, is part of a collection of three manuscripts, bound in one volume and all apparently written in the same hand, today in the Biblioteca Nationala a Romaniei, Filiala Batthyaneum, in Alba Iulia, Romania (MS I 54). Oswald Enperger, apparently from the Austrian town Everdingen (near Linz), could possibly be the scribe responsible for copying all three treatises. Alternatively, he may be one of the manuscript's first owners: a similar rhyming inscription is found on fol. 54r: "Nichts an ursach O[rtolf] v[on] Trenbach." Ortoľ von Trenbach can be identified as a Bavarian nobleman connected to the imperial court. Since the Trenbach arms appear on the same page as this phrase, which appears to be his motto, "Nothing without a cause," it has been suggested that he is either responsible for the commission of this manuscript or a second owner (after Oswald Enperger); see Szentiványi 1958, pp. 35–36, and Steer 1981, p. 254.
 94. This romance is part of a volume containing two manuscripts (the other being a text of *Lohengrin*), today in the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. pal. germ. 345 (fols. 182r–379v); the entire manuscript has been digitized and can be found at <http://diglit.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/cpg345>. For a discussion and further literature, see <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/helios/fachinfo/www/kunst/digi/henfflin/cpg345.html>.
 95. For a comprehensive history of this literary genre (in Germany), see Leng 2002.
 96. See Blosen and Olsen 2006.
 97. "Also sal sich ey[n] meister halden / Wyl her myt eren alden / Her habe got leff vor allen dinghen / So mach imme nicht misselinghen / Vnde swere nicht wil by got / So wert her nicht der lude spot."
 98. For references in the manuscript, see fols. 20r, 20v, 25v–26r, 28v–29r, 36r–37r, 42r–43r, and 49r (see Figure 25) in Blosen and Olsen 2006, vol. 1.
 99. This treatise, based on a work probably written in the early decades of the fifteenth century, is today in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (Ms. germ. fol. 710a); see Leng 2002, vol. 1, p. 218, vol. 2, pp. 443–44. The question of how (through which author and at which time) this particular advice and phrase may have entered the genre of military-engineering literature is outside the scope of this article. The phrase does not appear in the original manuscript, presumably the presentation copy, of one of the earliest examples of this genre, Kyeser's *Bellifortis* (the text of which is in Latin), dating from about 1405; see Breiding 2005a (with further literature). One of the earliest instances is probably the anonymous *Bumbardia*, of about 1410, today in the Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna (P5135); for the text, a discussion, and the literature, see Leng 1999, pp. 307–48 (the phrase is found on p. 334).

100. The only other—possibly early—instance known to the author in which this phrase can be found outside of manuscript production (apart from Count Ulrich's weapon) appears to be an inscription on a bell; see an allegedly "ancient" bell in the tower of the Saint Nikola church in Landshut bearing the inscription "Hab Gott lieb vor allen Dingen, so mag ich wohl täglich dreimal klingen" (an apparently nineteenth-century transcription, unfortunately given without date, in Wiesend 1858, p. 213). The inscription is also found on three early seventeenth-century bells in Switzerland: one by David Zender, dated 1632, in Eggwil, near Bern; another by the same founder, dated 1642, in Kirchberg; and, with a slightly changed inscription, an example by Heinrich Lamprecht, dated 1614, in Thundorf, also near Bern. I am grateful to the Deutsches Glockenmuseum, Castle Greifenstein, especially Jörg Poettgen and his Swiss colleague Matthias Walter, for providing the information on the seventeenth-century bells (email communication, April 2009). If the above-cited inscription on the Landshut bell is indeed "ancient"—that is, from before about 1500—this, too, may be significant, since the process for founding bells was essentially the same as that for the production of early guns and cannon, and makers of cannon (*Büchsenmeister*) are not infrequently recorded to have also cast bells; see Blackmore 1976, p. 2, and also Schilling 1988, pp. 21–24. For a number of German examples (specifically from Nürnberg during the first half of the fifteenth century) of the interrelation between gun makers and bell founding, see Willers 1973, pp. 65–67. Moreover, inscriptions on bells occasionally also employ acronyms and simple forms of encryption; see Schilling 1988, pp. 112, 136.
101. See Pascal Ladner, "Geheimschriften (1. Lateinischer Westen)," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1977–99, vol. 4, cols. 1172–73; and Bischoff 1981. For the period under discussion, the following sources are still important: Meister 1902 and Meister 1906.
102. This is a later copy of the *Bellifortis* (see note 99 above), today in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Ms. W 5278). The choice of what is rendered in encryption is often somewhat curious: in many cases it is not, as one would expect, military secrets (such as recipes for gunpowder) but rather mundane information or magical spells for love potions that have been encoded. Since these books were for personal use, however, the encryptions may not have been intended to keep information secret but, rather, meant to serve as simple aides-mémoires to remind the *Büchsenmeister* of the system or methods at his disposal (for examples, see literature in previous note). On the other hand, in at least one instance almost the entire manuscript is written in encryption: the treatise on war engines (the title *Bellicorum instrumentorum liber cum figuris et fictitiis literis conscriptus* is later) of Giovanni Fontana (ca. 1395–ca. 1455), today in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich (cod. iconogr. 242); see Birkenmajer 1932, pp. 40–41.
103. Hebrew was not officially taught at German universities until 1470 or 1471, when Petrus Nigri (Schwarz) began teaching the language at Ingolstadt University (in Bavaria) as part of a regular curriculum; see Petzsch 1967, p. 63.
104. The *Mittelalterliche Hausbuch* dates from about 1480–93; see, for example, Bossert and Storck 1912, especially pp. 31–35 and xxvi–xxix; Dürkopp 1931, p. 96; and note 110 below.
105. This famous manuscript is in the Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern (HS S 23). The illuminations are found on fols. 132 and 305, respectively; the beginning of each inscription is a variation of "HAB / GOT / LIEB / VOR / ALLEN / DINGEN / SO / MAG / ES / DIR / NIT / MISSE / LINGEN..."
106. The cryptogram, though largely unnoticed in the literature on the *Luzerner Bilderchronik*, was noted and published by Hans Goetz as long ago as 1930. I am grateful to Elisabeth Vetter, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek Luzern, for confirming that this article is still accepted by the latest research. The best literature on the chronicle remains the commentary volume accompanying the 1977 facsimile edition: Schmid and Boesch 1977–81. It is undoubtedly significant that the scene of the tailors' guild hall depicts a semilegendary conspiracy against the Swiss federation by factions loyal to the House of Austria during the first half of the fourteenth century (a red sleeve was the symbol of the Austrian loyalists). The importance of writing, script, and government in Lucerne, and especially the significance of words and signs in Schilling's chronicle, are discussed at length by Rauschert (2006, especially pp. 73–78); surprisingly, the author makes no mention of the cryptogram. Wall or cross ciphers are based on the "magical square" of the Kabbalah in Jewish mysticism. In this instance, as explained by Goetz (1930), the system works by placement of letters in a raster, or grid, of nine fields (≡). When writing, each letter is then substituted by the compartment in which it has been placed: ∩ as a substitute for a, ∪ for b, ∟ for c, and so on; after the ninth letter, the same symbols are used, distinguished by a single dot (for letters j through r) and two dots (for letters s through z), respectively.
107. The geographical situation of Hagenau is also noteworthy because it lies between Stuttgart and the Württemberg possessions in Montbéliard, France. Another possible relationship, which has not been discussed at length in the relevant literature, must still be regarded as rather tentative: the Lauber/Schilling workshop in Hagenau seems to have experienced a significant crisis about 1455, two years after Margaret of Savoy had arrived in Stuttgart, whereas in 1470, when the Hagenau workshop appears to have finally faltered, the workshop of Ludwig Henflin in Stuttgart apparently rises to more prominence. This may be an indication, albeit rather circumstantial, that Henflin's workshop in Stuttgart was active much earlier than indicated by the surviving manuscripts. See note 81 above.
108. See Bischoff 1979, p. 224, and especially Bischoff 1981, pp. 120ff. See also note 101 above.
109. See, for example, the anonymous Netherlandish panel painting *Christ Bearing the Cross*, a copy of about 1470 after a lost early work by Jan van Eyck, in the Metropolitan Museum (43.95). Partially legible inscriptions refer to the Procession of the Holy Blood, held annually in Bruges.
110. Homa 1974. Among several further examples may also be cited the cryptogram on a horse caparison in the *Mittelalterliche Hausbuch* (see note 104 above) that can be deciphered as "Heinrich Mang" or "Lang" (fol. 21r), although it is still debated whether this is the name of the illuminator or a renowned jousting of the period; see Hutchison 1972, p. 82.
111. See note 82 above.
112. In this context, the presence of the term *hoch herze* in one of Niklas von Wyle's *Translatzionen* is perhaps particularly noteworthy, since von Wyle stood in the service of the Württemberg court and was city scribe in Esslingen. His eighth translation (*How a Father Shall Lead His Household etc.*; see note 74) relates the advice given by Saint Bernhard to his brother Raymundo, a knight, on how to govern his entire household from his wife down to the servants; this paragraph of the text deals with malicious women, and the particular passage states, "Because a noble and exalted heart does not inquire into the deeds and exercises of women" (Dann ain edel vnd hoch hertze, fräget nit von handlung vnd übung der frouwen). Although the marriage of Count Ulrich and

Margaret appears to have been a happy one, much of the count's political troubles during the late 1450s and early 1460s stemmed not least from the dispute over Margaret's inheritance from her two previous marriages; see Fritz 1999, pp. 128–259, and Birkmeyer 2004. Relations between Count Ulrich and his sons (from his second marriage), however, as well as with his nephew Eberhard, at least during their youth and early adulthood, appear to have been difficult. Margaret of Savoy owned at least one copy of von Wyle's ninth *Translatzion*, which was personally dedicated by the author with a long and exhortative introduction. It has been pointed out, however, that Margaret does not appear to have been particularly interested in von Wyle's efforts; see Lähnemann 2002, p. 165. Nonetheless, one of Margaret's contemporaries, the famous literary patron Countess Mechthild von der Pfalz (the two corresponded) appears to have taken an interest, since the eighth translation was specifically made at her request; see Strauch 1883, pp. 14–19. In any case, if the inscription had any personal meaning for Margaret of Savoy and her husband, it would explain why the message was encrypted. The mutual love of the spouses, and the happiness of their marriage, is already remarked upon in near-contemporary sources; see the chronicle by the Stuttgart councilor Sebastian Küng (1514/15–1561), completed by 1554, especially fol. 112v (Sommer 1971, p. 108).

113. One argument against this theory is the fact that two different words would have been used to denote the same letter. Equally speculative is the suggestion that *hoch herze* somehow stands for the count or his wife. Since, understandably, very few lists of code words, or keys, have come down to us, this speculation is impossible to prove. The only surviving list known to the author that is of any relevance in terms of time and geographical proximity is a list, in the archives of Nürnberg, that dates from between 1461 and 1464/68, but this key only gives a code word for Count Ulrich (*Raiger*, or “heron”). See Wagner 1884, especially pp. 32–56.

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Joseph Wright's Pastel *Portrait of a Woman* An Article in Three Parts

ELIZABETH E. BARKER, CONSTANCE MCPHEE, AND MARJORIE SHELLEY

INTRODUCTION

In 2006 The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired its first pastel by Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–1797), the British portrait, history, and landscape painter known for his dramatic scenes of artificial light. *Portrait of a Woman* (Figure 3), executed in grisaille pastel on blue paper, shows a young woman with her head turned, looking beyond the space depicted. The figure's upswept hair, high forehead, straight eyebrows, long nose, full lips, and fleshy chin reappear—at what appears to be a slightly older age—in a painting dated 1772, *A Young Woman Reading a Letter with a Young Man Peering over Her Shoulder* (Figure 1). Similar features also characterize Wright's less precisely rendered *Young Woman Reading a Letter by Candlelight with an Old Man Peering over Her Shoulder* of about 1771 (Figure 2), suggesting that the same person may have modeled for all three works. Yet Wright is unlikely to have prepared the pastel as a study for either candlelight painting. Rather, it almost certainly functioned as a finished, independent work of art, one of several pastel portraits he made during the productive years before his mid-life journey to Italy.

The essays that follow examine the Metropolitan's sheet within three contexts: its place within Wright's larger graphic oeuvre, its use of seventeenth-century sources and recent thought on beauty, and the relationship of its materials and technique to aesthetic concepts. Together, they begin to redress a lacuna in the literature, from which a comprehensive study of Wright's drawings remains conspicuously absent.

Elizabeth E. Barker



1. Joseph Wright of Derby (British, 1734–1797). *A Young Woman Reading a Letter with a Young Man Peering over Her Shoulder*. Signed and dated: Jo.^s Wright pinx.^s 1772. Oil on canvas, approx. 28 x 36 in. (71.2 x 91.5 cm). Private collection



2. Joseph Wright of Derby. *A Young Woman Reading a Letter by Candlelight with an Old Man Peering over Her Shoulder*, ca. 1771. Oil on canvas, 36 x 28 in. (91.5 x 71.2 cm). Private collection



Joseph Wright's Pastel *Portrait of a Woman*

Part I: A Survey of the Drawings of Joseph Wright

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I have seen some heads drawn by PIAZZETTA, in the same style, but none superior.

—William Paulet Carey, 1809

Art critic and dealer William Paulet Carey's praise of a monochromatic self-portrait drawing by Joseph Wright (see Figure 9) might equally have been bestowed on other works in the artist's same virtuoso style, such as the pastel *Portrait of a Woman* (Figure 3).¹ As Wright's contemporaries had previously recognized,² the Derby-born painter was a skilled, inventive, and inquisitive draftsman, invited to "choose and set" the life model for the Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain³ and cited by a critic for the "correctness of [his] drawing."⁴

Wright must have valued such accolades. More than three hundred and fifty of his drawings survive.⁵ Of many types and media, dating from virtually every period of his long career, these sheets indicate the time he invested in working on paper—to hone his skills, record his observations, test his memory, explore compositions for paintings, and create independent works of art. Significantly, he engaged the subject of draftsmanship in three of his exhibited subject paintings. In *Three Persons Viewing the Gladiator by Candle-light* (1765; private collection), *An Academy by Lamp Light* (1770; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven), and *The Corinthian Maid* (1785; National Gallery of Art, Washington), Wright presented drawing as a rigorous, almost miraculously generative activity with an ancient pedigree. Tellingly, Wright never depicted himself with the mechanical appurtenances of oil painting, such as brushes or a palette, but he did include a porte-crayon and portfolio of drawings in his most compelling self-portrait in oils.⁶

For the prolific lifelong draftsman, such materials must have been near to hand: drawing evidently constituted an important art-making activity for Wright. Yet his graphic

work remains relatively little explored by comparison with that of his contemporaries Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788) and George Romney (1734–1802).⁷ This essay sketches a rough outline of Wright's career as a draftsman, suggesting ways in which *Portrait of a Woman* relates not only to a specific group of similar pastel heads but also to certain aesthetic concerns that shaped the development of his work in all media.

Wright's earliest experiences as a draftsman were imitative. As a child in Derby, he reportedly copied public signs—*Robin Hood and Little John* and *The Buck in the Park*—from memory.⁸ As an adolescent, he prepared meticulous reproductions of book illustrations and other prints using graphite, charcoal, ink, and wash.⁹ During his first period of apprenticeship with Thomas Hudson (1701?–1779), from 1751 to 1753, Wright sought to master the mechanics of drawing, the "grammar" that would structure the "Language" of his future art.¹⁰ In Hudson's studio, Wright replicated artworks from his teacher's extensive collection.¹¹ He used black and white chalks on blue or buff-colored paper to copy heads from seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century drawings and paintings, as well as specimens of ancient and modern sculpture, and red chalks on buff-colored paper to sketch sixteenth-century Italian designs¹² and pattern book images of eyes and noses.¹³ Already in such early works as *Portrait Head of Thomas Hudson* (Figure 4), Wright's powerful interest in tonal relations of light and dark (a concern that would later inform *Portrait of a Woman*) can be discerned.

When, in 1756, Wright returned to Hudson for an additional fifteen months of instruction, the young artist concentrated on drapery and another major focus of his art, effects of texture. Evidently inspired by the example of Hudson's drapery painters, Joseph and Alexander van Aken (to whose drawings Wright appears to have had access),¹⁴ and pre-

3. Joseph Wright of Derby (British, 1734–1797). *Portrait of a Woman*, ca. 1770–71. Pastel on blue laid paper, 15 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 in. (40.3 x 28 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 2007 (2007.40)



4. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Portrait Head of Thomas Hudson*, ca. 1751. Black and white chalks on blue laid paper, 14¼ x 11½ in. (36.2 x 29.2 cm). Derby Museum and Art Gallery (DBYMU 1996-1/17)

sumably working from real examples posed on Hudson's large lay figure on wheels,¹⁵ Wright prepared bravura studies of details of costume in black and white chalks on blue papers, which he annotated with color notes.¹⁶ In drawings such as *Study of a Woman in a Satin Gown, Holding a Mask* (Figure 5), Wright captured the glint of light on reflective fabrics with assurance, a virtuoso effect emphasized by the minimal delineation of the periphery.

His formal artistic education completed—surprisingly, without any apparent study of the living nude figure¹⁷—and his career as a portrait painter fully launched, Wright continued to make drawings. In sheets dating primarily to the 1760s and executed mainly in chalks, Wright continued his ongoing exploration of tone: these drawings are distinguished by their colored supports, papers prepared with ocher-colored wash or grounds of mauve or gray mixtures of gouache and watercolor.¹⁸ Wright applied a mauve-gray ground to the sheet of off-white laid paper on which, in about 1760,¹⁹ he drew in black and white chalks the small lead statue of a seated girl (Figure 6) by Adriaen de Vries (ca. 1545–1626). A faint pentimento along the figure's back hints at the sheet's development, from the first tentative strokes, delineating the essential forms; to broader marks of

black forming soft passages of shade; to fine, parallel lines of white, creating highlights. Wright left much of the ground exposed, allowing it to form the dominant, unifying middle tone. Whereas the study of a satin gown made just a few years earlier (Figure 5) sparkles with contrasted light, the study after De Vries captures the soft surface of its lead model—and suggests the supple texture of young skin.

Wright never adapted this study for a painting and, indeed, appears to have made few drawings in direct preparation for his oils: drawings related to paintings constitute only a tiny fraction of his extant graphic oeuvre. Like many of his contemporaries (including Joshua Reynolds [1723–1792], an earlier pupil of Hudson), Wright appears to have developed the designs for his paintings largely on the canvas.²⁰ He drew on paper—most frequently, in ink and wash—primarily for other reasons, often to record or test an idea. Before his departure for Italy, for example, Wright sketched industrial subjects, such as glasshouses and an iron forge, the latter of which would form the subject of a (differently composed) painting.²¹ Wright also experimented with making blot drawings in the manner of Alexander Cozens (1717–1786), specimens of whose work he also sold.²²

On other occasions, Wright drew on paper to create—with relative efficiency and comparatively little cost—discrete works of art. As Constance McPhee discusses in her article (pages 100–109), around the time that he was based in Liverpool (1768–71),²³ Wright prepared several monochromatic head studies in pastels that functioned as independent, even exhibitable,²⁴ character studies or portraits:²⁵ *Girl Wearing a Turban*, *Study of a Girl with Feathers in Her Hair* (Figure 13),²⁶ *Self-Portrait in a Fur Cap* (Figure 15), *Head of a Man, Probably Peter Perez Burdett* (Figure 11), and *Head of a Young Man in a Fur Cap (Possibly Richard or William Tate?)* (Figure 12).²⁷

It is easy to imagine the circumstances of their production. Friends and associates must have gathered—perhaps at 30 John Street, where the Liverpool Society of Artists rented quarters²⁸ and where Wright himself may also have had rooms²⁹—to make drawings and to witness a memorable display by the glittering talent in their midst. Some of Wright's sitters belonged to an artists' association distinguished by its members' shared aspirations to polite taste,³⁰ and every sitter participated in a widespread culture marked by a readiness for performance (evidenced in portraiture, masquerade balls, pleasure gardens, and plays).³¹ Wright's models, then, would have understood their roles in helping to construct an exotic, vaguely historical identity reminiscent of works by Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641) or Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), then among the most fashionable of earlier masters.³² Did Wright allow his models to select their own accoutrements of fancy dress? Or did he propose and arrange the feathers, pompoms, and pearls; fringed scarves, cuffs, and collars; and fur hats and wraps



5. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Study of a Woman in a Satin Gown, Holding a Mask*, ca. 1756. Black and white chalks on blue laid paper, 10¾ x 9 in. (27.3 x 22.9 cm). Derby Museum and Art Gallery (DBYMU 1996-1/42)



6. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Study of a Seated Girl after Adriaen de Vries*, ca. 1760. Black and white chalks on mauve-gray prepared paper, 17¾ x 11½ in. (45.1 x 29.2 cm). Derby Museum and Art Gallery (DBYMU 1996-1/84)

also found in his paintings of the period? Whatever the method of costuming, the roles appear unscripted and the scenes lightly stage-managed: rather than pose his models, Wright seems to have waited for them to assume the telling attitudes he subsequently captured. The resulting pastels are notably various, with sitters who return or avoid the viewer's gaze with varying degrees of naturalness and self-conscious complicity.

Wright must have prepared these studies with some speed, possibly as rapidly as in a single sitting, and he may have offered them as gifts. He never recorded the sale of any identified pastel. With these head studies—with which the Metropolitan Museum's drawing (Figure 3) can reasonably be grouped—Wright's monochromatic exploration of tone reached its apogee.³³ In the years that followed, Wright made few additional works of the same type. Instead, he continued his exploration of texture and effects of light in pen studies, and he began to introduce color into his drawings with increasing frequency.

More than two hundred studies survive from Wright's journey to Italy (1773–75), where drawing formed his main artistic activity.³⁴ Some of these sheets document the artist's experiences in the landscape, recording ancient ruins, picturesque vistas, Vesuvius, Roman fireworks displays, details of architecture, skies, trees, and leaves. Others capture figures: a dog and a cat, the artist's infant daughter, sculpture studied at the Capitoline Museum, the French Academy, and elsewhere, and details from paintings. Studies in one series bear the inscription "mem^y," indicating that they were observed on the spot but drawn afterward, in keeping with the practice urged by Reynolds.³⁵

Tested by these experiences and inspired by the examples of earlier masters and by his fellow members of the Fuseli circle in Rome,³⁶ Wright arrived at his own, fully developed style as a draftsman. Working primarily in graphite with black and brown ink and gray wash, he developed a recognizable manner, characterized by its extraordinary sense of control, visible even in works that initially appear



7. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Josias, after Michelangelo*, ca. 1774–75. Pen and brown ink and gray wash on paper washed bright green, 12 x 18¼ in. (30.5 x 46.4 cm). Derby Museum and Art Gallery (DBMYU 1980-717/5)

to have been spontaneously sketched, and by the patterns of its varied marks: dots made angular by the nib of the pen; crinkled, sometimes jagged, staccato lines; hatching and cross-hatching; sweeping, curving brushstrokes; and scribbles. Such textural effects constitute a linear counterpart to the scraped, scratched, and smeared surfaces that Wright explored in his oils of the same period, using a distinctive style he called "finishing."³⁷

In other Italian designs, a series of copies after figure groupings in the Sistine Chapel frescoes by Michelangelo (1475–1564), Wright displayed little concern for texture and instead emphasized effects of line and shade.³⁸ Nine extant sheets depict sibyls and prophets from the lunettes and spandrels in graphite and brown ink, accented with gray, blue-green, or bright green wash (see Figure 7).³⁹ Rendered in bold masses of light and shade and largely



8. Joseph Wright of Derby. *An Opening in a Cloudy Sky*. Fol. 13r of a 44-page vellum-bound sketchbook used by Joseph Wright in Italy, 1774–75. Graphite and brown wash with touches of pen and brown ink on a sheet washed yellow-green, sketchbook 9¼ x 6¾ in. (23.5 x 17.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1957 (57.102.1)

detached from their architectural settings, Wright's figures resemble low-relief sculptures as much as paintings. Their inward-leaning, sculptural forms would also inform his subsequent work. Virtually every subject painting Wright made after his return from Italy—*The Corinthian Maid* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.); *Maria, from Sterne*; *The Widow of an Indian Chief*; *Romeo and Juliet* (all Derby Museum and Art Gallery); *Edwin, from Dr. Beattie's Minstrel* (private collection); *The Lady in Milton's Comus* (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool)—shows the almost ovoid bending form of a seated figure in profile.

Wright also used wash effectively in his landscape studies made in Italy and in England.⁴⁰ For those drawings, he often preceded his sketching by first washing his sheets with color in a manner characteristic of watercolor painting.⁴¹ Sometimes, he used warm, subtle hues; on other occasions, he applied strident, even garish tones, such as the yellow-green that unifies a sky study annotated with color notes—including the seemingly contradictory inscription "Blueish Grey" (Figure 8). Such washes must have offered a faster means to achieving the tonal unity Wright had previously sought in his monochromatic pastels such as *Portrait of a Woman*.

Wright did return to monochromatic pastel on at least one occasion after his return from Italy (in 1775). In his finest, most painterly drawing, executed in tones so dark the forms seem to gleam within engulfing shadows, Wright presented his own visage at middle age (Figure 9), fleshier and wearier than in *Self-Portrait in a Fur Cap* (Figure 15).⁴² No other grisaille pastels are known, although Wright did prepare other small, informal, monochromatic portrait studies in oils. In 1776 he painted portrait heads of Dr. John Beridge and Martha Beridge⁴³ and of William Hayley and Eliza Hayley, executing the latter pair in purple-gray shades of paint applied to muted yellow grounds and enlivened with what appear to be reddish brown glazes.⁴⁴ In the early 1790s Wright painted his daughter Harriet in shades of brown on panel.⁴⁵

And Wright did not abandon pastel altogether. Intriguingly, in what appears to have been a short-lived practice, he seems to have attempted some pastels in color. Two specimens, both recently discovered, are known: a study of about 1781–82 related to the *KitCat of Old John Stavelly* (art market, London) showing the figure wearing a blue shirt, gray robe, and red sash (Figure 10)⁴⁶ and a bust-length portrait of about 1783 of the artist's daughter Harriet at the age of about five.⁴⁷ Perhaps Wright experimented with colored pastels after acquiring his copy of John Russell's *Elements of Painting with Crayons* (1772) or after meeting John Singleton Copley (1738–1815), a skilled pastel artist, when both men were visiting Parma.⁴⁸

Wright's late drawings, primarily of landscape subjects based (at least in part) on observations made outdoors, continued his earlier explorations of tone, texture, line, and



9. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Self-Portrait Wearing a Black Feathered Hat*, 1778(?). Pastel on blue paper, 21 x 14½ in. (53.3 x 36.8 cm). Derby Museum and Art Gallery (DBYMU 1953-186)

color. Those studies informed the landscape paintings in oils that were the great passion of Wright's final years, works that became the indirect stylistic inheritors of his earlier explorations of tone in monochromatic pastel and colored wash. Joseph Farington (1747–1821) recounted Wright's approach to developing such oils in terms reminiscent of works on paper:

For several years before [Wright] died He painted Landscape entirely upon System, having drawn in general outlines, He laid in a succession of Gradations. He went over these a second time, finishing the Sky and confirming the Gradations to the tone He chose, on which reciprocally He touched the light & dark objects, to suit the tint of the ground which they were laid on, by this means endeavouring to attain a system of harmony.⁴⁹



10. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Study of an Old Man*, ca. 1781–82. Pastel on blue laid paper adhered to a buff-colored lining and to canvas stretched on a wooden strainer. Private collection

Wright made drawings until the end of his life. When a former sketching companion entered Wright's sickroom during the last hours of his life, the artist, unable to speak, made his final, gestural utterance: he "drew with his fingers upon the [bed]sheet, as if expressive of the pleasure they had formerly in that pursuit."⁵⁰

NOTES

1. Carey 1809, p. 22. Carey wrote in reference to Wright's *Self-Portrait Wearing a Black Feathered Hat* (Figure 9), then in the collection of John Leigh Philips; Wallis 1997a, pp. 66–67, no. 79. Traditionally described as charcoal heightened with white chalk, the medium is more likely to be pastel, as described by Marjorie Shelley below.
2. A painting now at Kenwood House, London, attests to the esteem in which Wright's pupils held his skills as a draftsman. Catalogued as a Wright self-portrait but evidently made by another artist and depicting a different man, the painting (which may be a portrait by William Tate of his nephew, Thomas Moss Tate, both of whom studied with Wright) shows the subject holding a double-sided drawing prominently inscribed "J. Wright Del." The drawing depicts two of Wright's celebrated compositions: *Edwin*, from

Dr. Beattie's Minstrel (1778; private collection) and *Distant View of Mount Vesuvius, Seen from the Shore of Posilipo at Naples* (ca. 1788; engraved by William Byrne; variant copy at the Derby Museum and Art Gallery). The locations of the drawings represented in the portrait are unknown, if, indeed, they ever existed. They correspond to Nicolson 1968, p. 246, no. 235, pl. 179; Egerton 1990, pp. 113–14, no. 57; and Clayton 1990a, p. 250, P. 29.

English Heritage acquired the badly damaged painting as a self-portrait by Wright as part of the contents of Down House, Charles Darwin's former home in Kent. Sir George Buckston Browne probably purchased this painting, along with several others related in some way to Darwin and his ancestors, to hang in the Darwin Museum he opened at Down House in 1929. The early history of the painting is not recorded, but an old label at the top of the stretcher is inscribed with the name Llewellyn Jewitt, a Victorian antiquarian, archaeologist, and art historian who lived in Derby and was instrumental in the founding of its museum. Jewitt lent various items to Derby's early Wright exhibitions, including the painter's maulstick, but no painting matching this description is listed, and the full contents of his collection are not known.

3. Wright declined the invitation, issued in 1769, because he did not plan to be in London that winter; Wright Letters 2009, no. 1.
4. "Drawing" here refers to Wright's execution of a design in oils. Letter from "CANDID," in the *Morning Chronicle*, and *London Advertiser*, May 9, 1782, p. 2: "Mr. Wright has a picture, No. 231, of an Apostle, which for sweetness of pencil, correctness of drawing, and breadth of light, is unequalled; calm, composed, simple, yet Majestic; and the only fault found, is, that the flesh is too young."
5. Derby Museum and Art Gallery has more than two hundred examples. Three sketchbooks, one in the British Museum and two in the MMA, contain nearly one hundred studies. Additional drawings are in private collections and public institutions, including the Tate, London; the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven; the Art Institute of Chicago; the Morgan Library and Museum, New York; and the J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville.
6. Nicolson 1968, frontispieces to both volumes, p. 229, no. 167; Egerton 1990, pp. 156–57, no. 94. Similarly, Wright occasionally cast his portrait sitters as draftsmen, but not as painters. Samuel Rastall sketches the head of an old man (Hood 1982, p. 156, fig. 37; Egerton 1990, pp. 56–57, no. 19). The Reverend D'Ewes Coke holds a drawing instrument (possibly a porte-crayon) as his wife, Hannah, clasps a portfolio, and his relation Daniel Parker Coke compares a sheet to the landscape before them (Nicolson 1968, pp. 188–89, no. 40, pl. 225; Egerton 1990, pp. 217–18, no. 142). The Reverend Thomas Gisborne holds a portfolio and drawing instrument (possibly a pencil) while indicating a feature in the landscape to his wife, Mary (Nicolson 1968, pp. 198–99, no. 67, pl. 269; Egerton 1990, pp. 233–34, no. 146). Additionally, Wright showed the Reverend John Pickering holding a mathematical diagram and John Whitehurst making a geological drawing (Nicolson 1968, nos. 118, 141; Egerton 1990, nos. 148, 147).
7. Nicolson (1968) and Egerton (1990) consider Wright's drawings as a secondary subject, of interest primarily for the light they shed on his paintings. Wallis (1997a) took the project further with her exhibition catalogue featuring Derby's rich collections. Yet much remains to be done on this, as on so many aspects of Wright's work. Indeed, before Birmingham 1992, Graciano 2002, and Bonehill 2007, most scholarship on Wright had focused on a narrow range of painted works, primarily of the 1760s and 1770s.
8. H. Wright 2009, p. 4.

9. Wallis 1997a, pp. 49–51, nos. 5, 7, 2, 6, 4. Wright’s sources for two of these studies have been identified: a mezzotint by John Faber the Younger (ca. 1695–1756) after Thomas Hudson’s portrait of Matthew Hutton (1693–1758), archbishop of Canterbury, ca. 1748–56; and Jan Goeree’s 1708 frontispiece to Richard Bentley’s *Q. Horatius Flaccus, ex recensione & cum notis atque emendationibus Richardi Bentleii* (Cambridge, 1711).
10. Reynolds (1797) 1975, p. 26, Discourse 2, lines 24–29.
11. For Hudson’s collecting activities and the three sales through which his collection was eventually dispersed, see Lugt 1921, no. 2432; and Miles and Simon 1979, unpaginated. His acuity as a connoisseur was famously undermined by a prank that occurred at about the time Wright arrived in his studio. Benjamin Wilson (1721–1788) prepared a fake Rembrandt etching, and when Hudson purchased it as an original, Wilson exposed the error before other artists at a dinner party, then published the deceptive plate (dated April 17, 1751) with an inscription revealing the ruse (Miles and Simon 1979, no. 74). The rich subject of Wright’s training with Hudson exceeds the scope of this essay and will form the subject of a future article.
12. Wright copied two heads from Raphael’s tapestry cartoon *Death of Ananias*; he took a child from Raphael’s *Lame Man Healed* (both Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Wallis 1997a, p. 52, nos. 8, 9, 11).
13. *Ibid.*, p. 53, no. 12. Thomas Jones (1742–1803) would recall undertaking a similar exercise of “copying drawings of Ears, Eyes, mouths & noses” at William Shipley’s (1715–1803) drawing school in 1761 (Jones 1951, p. 8).
14. Libson 1995; Wallis 1996; Wallis 1997a; Wallis 1997b; Miles and Simon 1979.
15. For Wright’s experience with Hudson’s lay figure, see H. Wright 2009, pp. 5–6. For Wright’s preference, stated later in life, for working from real objects, see Wright Letters 2009, nos. 49, 55, 58, 62.
16. His progress and interests as a draftsman during both periods of study are unusually well documented by a large number of studies dating to this time, most of which came to light in the 1990s. In 1991 Agnew’s, London, acquired seven sheets by Wright from an unidentified French collection. In 1994 Sotheby’s, London, sold a group of fifty sheets by Wright and twenty-four by another hand, possibly Joseph van Aken, that had been in the possession of the Stafford family since the 1870s. In 1997 Christie’s, London, received on consignment a group including twenty-one sheets by Wright and six by another hand, again possibly Van Aken, that had descended through a different branch of the Stafford family. Derby Museum and Art Gallery acquired all three groups, of which only the first two have been published, in Wallis 1997a. For the first two groups, see also Libson 1995 and Wallis 1997b.
17. Except for a sketch after Raphael of a naked child, none of Wright’s early drawings shows the nude figure, and his name is not listed among the attendees at the life classes and lectures offered at the St. Martin’s Lane academy (an easy walk from Hudson’s Great Queen Street studio) recorded by W. H. Pyne, reportedly with the assistance of a former member, John Taylor (Pyne 1824, vol. 1, pp. 176–80).
18. See, for example, Wallis 1997a, pp. 58, 62–63, nos. 46 (mauve-gray ground), 66 (ocher-colored wash), 67 (the same mauve-gray ground as no. 46), and 72 (cool gray ground). I am grateful to Marjorie Shelley for examining these drawings with me and sharing her assessment of their materials during a trip to Derby in 2003.
19. This dating assumes that Wright used the distinctive ground preparation found on this sheet and only one other in his graphic oeuvre at about the same time. The second sheet is a study of the left hand in his undated *Portrait of William Rastall*, who was born in 1754 and depicted at about the age of six. For the drawing, see Wallis 1997a, p. 62, no. 67; for the painting, see Hood 1982, p. 156, fig. 38; and Egerton 1990, pp. 56–57, no. 20. For the statue, also apparently known to Gainsborough, see Sawyer 1951.
20. One incomplete sketch of a subject painting by Wright is known and suggests his method for developing such works: the brown-and-pink-toned study for *An Experiment on a Bird in the Air Pump* (National Gallery, London) on the reverse of a self-portrait in a private collection (Nicolson 1968, p. 235, no. 193, pl. 59). Since its reproduction in Nicolson’s catalogue raisonné, the study has been cleaned, and the clumsy overpainting of the face of the leftmost figure has been removed. I am grateful to the owners of this work for allowing me to see their collection.
21. Barker in Barker and Kidson 2007, p. 182, nos. 59, 60; Egerton 1990, p. 97, no. 46.
22. Barker in Barker and Kidson 2007, p. 181, nos. 57, 58.
23. Wright resided in Liverpool during at least three periods, which totaled about twenty-five months, between mid-October 1768 and early September 1771. For Wright’s accounts with the Tate family related to his period of residence in Liverpool, see Wright Account Book 2009, pp. 9v, 22v, 23r, 23v, 68v, 69r. For Wright’s experiences in and impact on Liverpool, see Barker 2007.
24. The works listed below or similar examples appear to have remained in Liverpool; the 1774 exhibition of Liverpool’s Society for the Encouragement of Designing, Drawing and Painting included three male portraits in “black chalk” by “Mr. J. Wright” (Mayer 1876, p. 21).
25. The works listed below measure no more than 17¼ by 11¼ inches, and most are approximately 16½ x 11½ inches. Wright used larger sheets for the heads of Thomas and Mary Coltman and for his later self-portrait study, which are approximately 21 inches high and 17½ and 14¼ inches wide, respectively.
26. For the arguments for dating the sheets of the girls to this period on the basis of their style, costume elements, and the provenance (in the extended family of Wright’s Liverpool landlord) of a copy of the former, see Barker in Barker and Kidson 2007, pp. 166–67, nos. 39, 40.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 177–78, nos. 50–52.
28. Kidson 2007, pp. 21–22.
29. Barker 2007, p. 45.
30. Kidson (2007, p. 21) has characterized the Liverpool artists’ societies of this period, composed primarily of amateur rather than professional artists, as “quasi-literary” clubs for gentlemen “seeking to improve their taste.”
31. Brewer 1997, especially chaps. 2 and 10.
32. Ribiero 1975; White, Alexander, and D’Oench 1983.
33. In this sense, the MMA’s drawing resembles the pastel *Boy Reading* (Figure 14; and see McPhee’s article, page 109, note 2), with which it shared at least a twentieth-century provenance. Although Sotheby’s dated the sheet to about 1766 on the basis of the figure’s similarity to the boy depicted at the center of Wright’s *A Philosopher Giving That Lecture on the Orrery* (Derby Museum and Art Gallery), the resemblance is more general than specific (reliant on pose rather than distinguishing facial features), and it is unclear exactly how such a pastel study would have contributed to Wright’s design of the painting. The sheet belonged to the same collection as the MMA’s drawing from at least 1930 and might possibly also have shared its earlier history (Grundy 1930). For a more conventional chalk portrait, see *Mary Coltman* of about 1771 (Nicolson 1968, p. 191, no. 42, pl. 119).

34. In addition to discrete works in several public collections, major groups of Wright's Italian drawings are held in three museums: a series of large sheets in Derby Museum and Art Gallery; a pasteboard-covered sketchbook in the British Museum; and two vellum-bound sketchbooks in the MMA.
35. In 1769 Reynolds ([1797] 1975, p. 34, Discourse 2, lines 276–82) advised: "I would particularly recommend that after you return from the Academy (where I suppose your attendance to be constant) you would endeavour to draw the figure by memory. I will even venture to add, that by perseverance in this custom, you will become able to draw the human figure tolerably correct, with as little effort of the mind as is required to trace with a pen the letters of the alphabet."
36. Pressly 1979.
37. Wright Letters 2009, nos. 34, 35, 36, 111; Barker 2007, pp. 72–74. For Wright's textured landscape drawings, see, for example, Egerton 1990, pp. 142–43, nos. 78, 79.
38. A volume of thirty-six studies after Michelangelo, extant in 1885 when recorded by William Bemrose but subsequently dispersed, is now largely untraced (Nicolson 1968, pp. 7, 58n2). Nine examples are preserved in Derby Museum and Art Gallery (Wallis 1997a, pp. 84–85, nos. 140–48).
39. Wright evidently valued his studies after Michelangelo and considered engraving the series in the 1790s (although, given their reliance on tonal effects of wash, it is difficult to imagine their effective reproduction in a printmaking medium other than aquatint). See Clayton 1990b, p. 29n20, and Wright Letters 2009, nos. 111, 112, 116.
40. After 1775, when he returned from Italy, Wright made studies in ink and wash of individual trees and of landscapes, some of which he encountered during sketching excursions in the company of friends such as the Reverend Thomas Gisborne and Thomas Moss Tate; see Nicolson 1965 and H. Wright 2009, pp. 144–49.
41. I am grateful to Marjorie Shelley for discussing this practice with me in 1997, in the context of the subtle washes present on the blank pages of Wright's large Italian sketchbook in the MMA.
42. Nicolson dated *Self-Portrait Wearing a Black Feathered Hat* to about 1767–70, and in a recent publication I proposed a later date of about 1773–76; see Nicolson 1968, p. 229, no. 168, pl. 70, and Barker and Kidson 2007, p. 179, no. 53. Having studied the sheet at greater length and alongside other pastels of the same era in the recent "Wright of Derby in Liverpool" exhibition, however, I am increasingly inclined to date it later still. Wright turned forty-four in 1778, an age that does not seem unreasonable for the face depicted. Perhaps the drawing's melancholic air reflects the losses Wright suffered after he returned to England: his friend and former pupil Richard Hurleston died in 1777, and his three-year-old son Joseph—who "delighted with his Father's Paintings, & took more interest in them even at that early age, than any of his other Children"—died in 1778; see Wright Letters 2009, no. 30, and H. Wright 2009, pp. 100–101.
43. Nicolson 1968, pp. 180–82. The portrait of the wife is lost; the damaged portrait of the husband is in a private collection.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 203, nos. 75, 76, pls. 182, 183.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 231, no. 178, pl. 322; Egerton 1990, p. 229, no. 150.
46. I am grateful to the owner of this extraordinary object, discovered in storage in a family collection formed in the eighteenth century by a friend of the artist and containing other works by Wright, for allowing me in 2003 to study it and to consult the conservation records detailing its treatment. For the related painting, see Nicolson 1968, p. 233, no. 181, pl. 228.
47. Sale, Christie's, London, July 10, 1990, lot 91.
48. Wright's copy of Russell's book appeared on the market in 1991 in a group of ten volumes inscribed with Wright's signature; I am grateful to Jolyon Hudson of Pickering and Chatto for providing me with information about them in 1998. For Wright's encounter with Copley in Italy, see Wright Letters 2009, no. 21. Of course, Wright would have had countless other opportunities to see colored pastels. Peter Romney, at work in Liverpool during Wright's time there, specialized in crayon portraits, which he characterized as "more expeditious, and more pleasing in effect than oil colours, but different from my brother's, and greatly in fashion" (Romney 1830, p. 307). In London, as Marjorie Shelley discusses in her article (pages 113–18), Francis Cotes (1726–1770), Hugh Douglas Hamilton (ca. 1740–1808), Katharine Read, and John Russell (1745–1806) specialized in pastels, and Copley, Thomas Jones, Henry Robert Morland (1716?–1797), Francis Wheatley (1747–1801), Mary Black, and William Pether (ca. 1738–1821), among many others, also exhibited pastels at the Society of Artists.
49. Farington 1979, p. 1716, entry for January 25, 1802.
50. H. Wright 2009, p. 156.

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Joseph Wright's Pastel *Portrait of a Woman* Part II: Sources, Meaning, and Context

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The Metropolitan Museum's *Portrait of a Woman* (Figure 3) is one of a group of monochrome heads drawn by Joseph Wright between 1768 and 1771 while he was based in Liverpool.¹ Related works include portraits of two young men wearing exotic headgear (Figures 11, 12), two girls with feathers or pompoms in their hair (Figure 13), and a studious boy in a ruffled collar (Figure 14).² A pastel self-portrait (Figure 15) is similar in size and closely related in conception.³ An exhibition held in 2007 and 2008 at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, and the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, allowed many of these works to be studied together, and the discoveries made by Elizabeth Barker and Alex Kidson relating to the circumstances surrounding their creation formed the foundation upon which the following discussion is built.⁴ Each of these portraits conveys a strong sense of physical presence and was undoubtedly based on study from life. But the emphasis given to expression and fanciful costume demonstrates Wright's equal or greater interest in a range of nonportrait modes, including the character head, called in Dutch *trony*, as well as the French *tête d'expression*. A demonstrable sense of role-playing connects some in the group to that imaginative, self-consciously modern British genre, the fancy picture.⁵

Wright executed these drawings either in grisaille pastels or black and white chalks, usually upon blue or gray laid paper. The close focus on head and shoulders and characteristic sense of intimacy suggest that the models were friends rather than patrons.⁶ A strong light, cast from one side, produces deep shadows of the kind associated with Wright's candlelight pictures. In addition, the construction of these drawings relates more closely to his subject paintings of the same period than to his commissioned portraits. Even as he rethought the conversation piece in his exhibited subject paintings, Wright here addressed the British tradi-

tion of the informal portrait head drawing, borrowing from seventeenth-century precedents but applying up-to-date aesthetic principles.

Portrait of a Woman, close to lifesize, is brought to a high degree of finish in pastel, a medium admirably suited to evoking the soft texture of skin and hair. The subject's pose is defined by her sharply turned head and averted gaze. The



11. Joseph Wright of Derby (British, 1734–1797). *Head of a Man, Probably Peter Perez Burdett*, ca. 1770–71. Black, brown, and white chalk and charcoal on laid paper; 14¼ x 11¾ in. (36.2 x 29.8 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection (B1977.14.6320)

Metropolitan Museum Journal 44

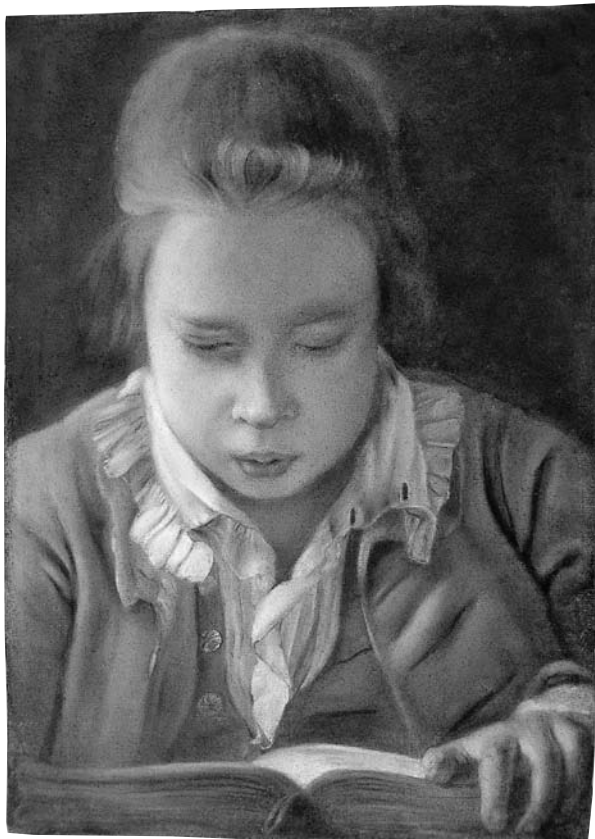
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12. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Head of a Young Man in a Fur Cap (Possibly Richard or William Tate?)*, ca. 1770–71. Black chalk heightened with white on wove paper, 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (42.9 x 29.5 cm). Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky, Purchase, Museum Art Fund (1963.30)



13. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Study of a Girl with Feathers in Her Hair*, ca. 1770. Black and white chalk on blue paper, now gray; 12 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (32.7 x 29.2 cm). Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, Henry Reitlinger Bequest (PD.128-1991)



14. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Boy Reading*, ca. 1769–71. Grisaille pastel, 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 11 in. (41.9 x 27.9 cm). Private collection, United Kingdom

light falling from the left accentuates the sinuous line of her twisted neck and casts the far side of her face into shadow. The sole rendering of a mature woman among the monochrome portraits, the subject is also distinguished by her simple toilette. Every other subject wears some fanciful accessory: an exotic hat, turban, striped scarf, ruffled collar, feathers, or pompoms, but the woman in the Metropolitan's drawing is clad in a plain, low-necked gown whose smooth, white-edged bodice frames the delicate skin of her neck and bosom, and her lustrous hair is unconstrained by cap or scarf. This is noticeably different from the dress pictured in Wright's commissioned portraits, where his young female subjects invariably wear pendant earrings, ribbon ruffs, or garnet necklaces and have ribbons and pearls woven through their hair.⁷ The only adornment here is a small gold earring, whose function seems more formal than decorative,

15. Joseph Wright of Derby. *Self-Portrait in a Fur Cap*, ca. 1770–71. Monochrome pastel on gray-blue laid paper, 16¾ x 11⅝ in. (42.5 x 29.5 cm). Art Institute of Chicago, Clarence Buckingham Collection (1990.141)



placed to mark the pivot point of the head and to punctuate the line dividing the shadowed background from her brightly lit face. A delicately applied highlight on the loop of the earring is echoed by another reflective touch just below the tip of the nose, and together these points help to establish the dimensions of the face and underscore its implied movement from left to right.

Wright seemingly believed his subject possessed a natural beauty that needed no artificial enhancement. In the late 1760s the middle and upper classes in Britain and France began to favor a greater simplicity of dress and manners.⁸ This trend was articulated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who argued for casting off civilized artifice to reveal innately admirable human qualities previously concealed or distorted. Rousseau's major texts were quickly translated into English and were widely read in Britain.⁹ Indeed, before he moved to Liverpool, Wright may have been aware of the philosopher, who in 1766–67 was living on the border of Derbyshire, to escape likely persecution in France and Switzerland.¹⁰

To convey visually the idea of deliberately eschewing adornment, Wright turned to a British portrait type from the

previous century established by Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680) and Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646?–1743). Seeking an alternative to the strictures of formal court imagery, these artists had borrowed tropes from pastoral literature and portrayed female sitters as hermits or shepherdesses.¹¹ A mezzotint by John Smith (after 1654?–1742/43) after Kneller's *Isabella, Duchess of Grafton* (Figure 16) exemplifies the type: its noble subject placed in an uncultivated landscape bare-headed and without jewels, and dressed in a plain, low-necked, unconstructed gown.¹² Setting aside normal indications of rank to appear alone in a wild place, the sitter enacts a kind of conceptual retreat from the demands of civilized life. *Portrait of a Woman*, with its sitter's deliberately plain gown and bare head and neck, restates this mode on an intimate scale. Wright's visual method parallels Rousseau's literary one, as Rousseau also absorbed and reconstituted pastoral forms to create his own concept of "the natural."¹³

Wright would have had ample opportunity to study similar portraits during his two periods of apprenticeship under Thomas Hudson (1701?–1779) in 1751–53 and 1756–57. Hudson ran the most successful portrait studio in London during the 1740s and 1750s. He inherited compositional forms from Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665–1745), his teacher and father-in-law, many of which were traceable back to Kneller, Lely, and Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641). Of equal importance was the art collection that Hudson began to form in the 1740s. This eventually included more than two hundred paintings, thousands of prints, some terracotta models, and a large number of old master drawings, including sheets by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Van Dyck, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), and Italian masters of the preceding two centuries.¹⁴ Together with the workaday copies assembled by any active studio, this corpus would have provided Hudson's students with a wide range of British and European examples.

In their scale, vivacity, and materials, Wright's chalk and pastel heads rely on a type of intimate portrait drawing introduced to Britain from Flanders by Rubens and Van Dyck.¹⁵ Lely inherited the mode and then helped to establish the informal chalk head as an independent form, signing chalk portraits to indicate their independent status and intending them to be framed and hung.¹⁶ Subsequently, Michael Dahl (1659?–1743), Richardson (see Figure 22), and Hudson also drew dynamic large-scale heads in chalks, often on blue paper.¹⁷ Even when preparatory to paintings, these possess a physical immediacy that anticipates Wright. When he joined Hudson's studio in 1751, Wright addressed this tradition in a series of chalk portrait heads derived from Van Dyck, Lely, Dahl, Kneller, and Richardson. These works, now at the Derby Museum and Art Gallery, represent his introduction to a form he later developed in a masterly fashion.¹⁸



16. John Smith (British, after 1654?–1742/43) after Godfrey Kneller (British, 1646?–1723). *Isabella, Duchess of Grafton*, 1692. Mezzotint, 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (34 x 25 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gertrude and Thomas Jefferson Mumford Collection, Gift of Dorothy Quick Mayer, 1942 (42.119.206)

Wright's monochromes (Figures 3, 11–15) reconfigured the seventeenth-century character head or *trony*. Exotically dressed, expressive renderings of this type were developed in Leiden by Rembrandt (see Figure 17) and Jan Lievens (1607–1674) before 1631, when Rembrandt then took the form to Amsterdam, and introduced it to students and followers such as Ferdinand Bol (see Figure 18) and Carel Fabritius (1622–1654).¹⁹ Many fanciful portraits and self-portraits by these Dutch artists are now recognized as *tronies*.²⁰ Well before 1700 British printmakers were copying and imitating Dutch originals, and the growing popularity of mezzotint, introduced to England by Prince Rupert of the Rhine (1619–1682) in 1662 (see Figure 23), was intrinsically tied to the spreading taste for Dutch portrait and genre modes.²¹

By applying elements normally associated with history painting, such as exaggerated expression and evocative costume, *tronies* aimed to capture evanescent emotions and to suggest a persona rather than establish social identity. They were also regarded as finished, salable works. A related mode, the oriental head, used turbans, rich fabrics, and

jewels to embody exotic character and was popular north and south of the Alps. In Italy, it was associated with Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (see Figure 19) and Salvator Rosa (1615–1673). In the eighteenth century Giovanni Battista Piazzetta reenergized the character head with lively chalk drawings of Venetian types; these were collected by British connoisseurs and widely reproduced as prints (see Figure 20).²²

In London, the Irish artist Thomas Frye drew contemporary character portraits in chalks and published eighteen at lifesize as mezzotints “in the manner of Piazzetta” between 1760 and 1762 (see Figure 21).²³ These striking prints are often cited as likely influences on Wright, and the latter's monochromes certainly manipulate scale and light in a similar manner, while avoiding the elongated forms and mannered gestures often found in Frye's prints.²⁴ Wright's female subjects in particular (see Figures 3, 13) move with an assured grace that comes closer to Frye's acknowledged source Piazzetta (see Figure 20), an artist Wright had studied when he first entered Hudson's studio and in whom he maintained a mature interest.²⁵ Wright comes closer to Frye in his assured handling of pastels and chalks and choice of a grisaille palette, unusual in England at this period, but commonly practiced by artists trained in Dublin.²⁶

Wright's *Head of a Man* at Yale (Figure 11) recalls seventeenth-century Dutch *tronies* with its intense, quizzical expression and fanciful costume. Similar soft, lace-edged



17. Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–1669). *Self-Portrait in a Heavy Fur Cap*, 1631. Etching, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (6.2 x 5.6 cm). British Museum, London (1835,0613.1). © Trustees of the British Museum

ruffs appear in well-known portraits by Rembrandt and Van Dyck, but Wright used them so often—in two other monochrome drawings (see Figure 13) and several candlelight paintings of the 1760s—that he may simply have intended this element to signal fanciful role-playing.²⁷ Formally, the collar's close folds and fringe allowed him to introduce passages of texture next to ones describing smooth skin and fabric and to break up the predominant darkness with rippling bands of tone.

The sitter in the Yale drawing has convincingly been identified, by Gillian Forrester, as Peter Perez Burdett, a cartographer, artist, and close friend of Wright's who facilitated his move to Liverpool in 1768.²⁸ Burdett was the first Briton to use aquatint (one of his rare extant works in the medium is of Wright's *Two Boys Blowing a Bladder by Candlelight*),²⁹ and he exhibited several prints in that medium at the Society of Artists in London in 1771. He must have been experimenting with the tonal technique when Wright drew his portrait in monochrome.³⁰ The pose, with the head supported by the right hand and the index finger raised, echoes in reverse a self-portrait drawing by Jonathan Richardson (Figure 22).³¹ Wright may have encountered a version of this composition in Hudson's studio and revived it here, to portray another intellectual artist.³²



19. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (Italian, 1609–1664). *Head Looking Down to the Left, from Small Oriental Heads*, ca. 1645–50. Etching, 4 1/8 x 3 1/8 in. (10.4 x 8 cm). British Museum, London (1871,0812.32). © Trustees of the British Museum



18. Ferdinand Bol (Dutch, 1616–1680). *Portrait of an Officer Wearing a Hat with Two Long Feathers*, 1645. Etching and drypoint, 5 3/8 x 4 1/2 in. (13.7 x 11.3 cm). British Museum, London (S.15). © Trustees of the British Museum

Burdett's turban, made from a wrapped and knotted fringed scarf, although not genuinely oriental, adds another layer of "fancy." Similar headgear can be found in character heads by Frye (Figure 21) and Piazzetta, and in the first mezzotint made in Britain, Prince Rupert's *Little Executioner* (Figure 23).³³ In costume pieces, turbans normally were paired with fur-edged robes rather than ruffs, and the sense of incongruity produced by Wright's mixed references was probably deliberate. It is accentuated by the contemporary coat lapel allowed to peek from beneath the seventeenth-century collar. The subject's expression suggests amusement at the game of make-believe, and the character he projects is simultaneously intelligent, imaginative, and eclectic in his tastes. A contemporary description indicates that Burdett's real-life persona matched Wright's image: "He had the eye of an Hawk... [and was] a most ingenious man, well informed of strong mind & sound judgement on matters of taste, beauty & the arts—and excellent draughtsman... He was of those who laid the foundation of taste in Liverpool."³⁴

It is an intriguing possibility that all of Wright's male monochrome portraits, like the two self-portrait drawings at Chicago (see Figure 15) and Derby,³⁵ may represent artists. Elizabeth Barker has proposed either Richard or William



20. Johann Lorenz Haid (German, 1702–1750) after Giovanni Battista Piazzetta (Italian, 1682–1754). *Young Woman Holding a Mask*, ca. 1750s. Mezzotint, 19¼ x 14¼ in. (48.9 x 36.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, PECO Foundation Gift, 2007 (2007.157)

Tate as the subject of *Head of a Young Man in a Fur Cap* (Figure 12).³⁶ Her research has shown Richard Tate to have been not only a merchant and patron of the arts but also an enthusiastic amateur draftsman and painter. His younger brother William studied with Wright between 1768 and 1770 and eventually became a professional artist.³⁷ These two monochrome male heads relate more obviously to Dutch precedents than to British or Italian models, in both their moody tonality and the exotic dress (the fur would have been seen as coming from Russia, eastern Europe, or America, the striped silk scarf from Venice or the Orient). Rembrandt's 1631 etched *Self-Portrait in a Heavy Fur Cap* (Bartsch 16; Figure 17) is an early example of the subject of a self-portrait/*trony* in which the subject is wearing fur, and the mode subsequently became popular with Dutch artists.³⁸ In eighteenth-century Britain the taste for Rembrandt ran deep, and artists who portrayed themselves in fur hats or velvet berets usually intended to pay tribute to the Dutch master.³⁹ Examples include a drawing by Jonathan Richardson from 1734 (Figure 24) and a mezzotint by Nathaniel



21. Thomas Frye (Irish, ca. 1710–1762). *Man Wearing a Turban*, 1760. Mezzotint, 19⅞ x 13⅞ in. (50.5 x 35.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Harry G. Friedman Bequest, 1966 (66.695.7)



22. Jonathan Richardson the Elder (British, 1665–1745), *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1733. Black, red, and white chalk on blue paper; 18¼ x 12½ in. (46.5 x 31.8 cm). Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Paul Mellon Collection (B1977.14.4333)

23. Prince Rupert of the Rhine (Bohemian, 1619–1682) after Jusepe de Ribera (Spanish, 1591–1652). *The Little Executioner*, 1662. Mezzotint with traces of burin, 5 1/8 x 6 1/2 in. (13.1 x 16.4 cm). British Museum, London (1838,0420.9). © Trustees of the British Museum



24. Jonathan Richardson the Elder. *Self-Portrait as a Young Man in a Fur Cap*, 1734. Graphite on parchment, 5 3/4 x 4 5/8 in. (14.7 x 11.6 cm). Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London (D.1952.R.W.1660)



25. Nathaniel Hone (Irish, 1718–1784). *Self-Portrait in a Fur Hat*, 1747. Mezzotint, plate 14 x 9 7/8 in. (35.6 x 25.1 cm). The Lennox-Boyd Collection

Hone published in 1747 (Figure 25).⁴⁰ An early self-portrait drawing by Wright (Figure 26) resembles the latter composition and may have been inspired by it.⁴¹

Two seventeenth-century sources may have influenced Wright's conception of *Self-Portrait in a Fur Cap* (Figure 15). The pose resembles Rembrandt's in a small portrait (once thought to be a self-portrait but now believed to be by a follower) that in the eighteenth century belonged to the Duke of Argyle.⁴² Well known in England, this work was

often emulated and copied, and Wright probably knew it through an etching by Thomas Worlidge (Figure 27). Like Worlidge, he reversed the original composition to make the light fall from the right, and shifted the face into strict alignment with the picture plane.⁴³ His image also shares the precise brows, well-defined mouth, and slight chin cleft found in the print but missing from the painting.

The careful symmetry and unusual stillness of the features in *Self-Portrait in a Fur Cap* point to Wright's likely awareness of the French *tête d'expression*, which, although it has parallels with the *trony*, developed in close association with the academic formulas and work of Charles Le Brun. Intriguingly, Wright's proportionally arranged features resemble the illustration for *Tranquility* (Figure 28) in Le Brun's *Conference upon Expression*.⁴⁴ First published in English in 1701, this treatise quickly became a standard artists' reference, and Wright would certainly have known it.⁴⁵ His possible nod to it here points to the way he carefully constructed his image to demonstrate an awareness of structured academic tradition, on the one hand, and the expressive individualism of Dutch art, on the other.



26. Joseph Wright of Derby after Nathaniel Hone. *Study of a Man's Head in a Fur Cap*, 1755–56. Black and white chalk on blue paper, 15⁷/₈ x 11³/₈ in. (40.3 x 28.9 cm). Derby Museum and Art Gallery (1996-1/91A)

There is another suggestive echo of Le Brun in Wright's *Portrait of a Woman*, whose pose shares the sharply twisted neck, averted eyes, and softly rounded chin of the illustration in the *Conference for Simple Love* (Figure 29).⁴⁶ It may not be coincidental that Wright used a similar pose, albeit reversed, for the young woman who gazes at her lover in *An Experiment on a Bird in an Air Pump*.⁴⁷ David Solkin has conjectured that middle-class wives and mothers were excluded from Wright's large candlelight paintings because contemporary decorum barred them from participating in the activities depicted.⁴⁸ A similar distinction between the sexes and their roles may lie behind his different approaches to male and female subjects in the monochromes. In his portraits of men Wright addressed aspects of creative identity, but in *Portrait of a Woman* he used pose and expression to embody broader concepts of beauty and love.

Portrait of a Woman demonstrates the influence of two then fairly recent discussions of beauty: Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) and William Hogarth's *Analysis*

of Beauty (1753).⁴⁹ According to Burke, the aesthetic concept of beauty was formed from a generalization of female physical qualities attractive to men. Its visual components were said to derive, by association, from physical sensation. Setting aside traditional definitions that dated back to Plato and linked beauty to proportion, utility, or moral perfection, Burke substituted purely visual components—"smoothness," "gradual variation," and "delicacy"—and, in an evocative paragraph, concluded that these qualities were most demonstrably located in the female neck and upper torso:

Observe that part of a beautiful woman where she is perhaps the most beautiful, about the neck and breasts; the smoothness; the softness; the easy and insensible swell; the variety of surface, which is never for the smallest space the same; the deceitful maze, through which the unsteady eye slides giddily, without knowing where to fix, or whether it is carried. Is not this a demonstration of that change of surface continual and yet hardly perceptible at any point which forms one of the great constituents of beauty? It gives me no small pleasure to find that I can strengthen my theory in this point, by the opinion of the very ingenious Mr. Hogarth; whose idea of the line of beauty I take in general to be extremely just.⁵⁰

Wright's portrait self-evidently focuses upon that area singled out by Burke as a locus of beauty. Modesty prevented him from depicting his subject's breasts, but their abundance is implied by the way the open bodice flows into the lower margin of the drawing. (Piazzetta's flirtatious subject in Figure 20 demonstrates the point.) Like Burke, Wright clearly admired Hogarth's concept of "the line of beauty." In his *Analysis of Beauty* Hogarth devoted a chapter to demonstrating how that serpentine shape was fundamental to beautiful forms. Exactly this kind of swooping curve forms the hair, neck, chin, cheeks, and shoulders of the woman in the Metropolitan's drawing.⁵¹

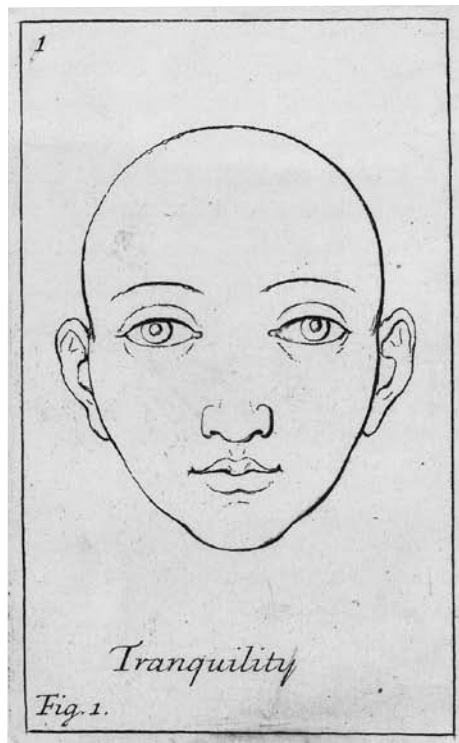
Although they broke new aesthetic ground, both Burke and Hogarth retained a reverence for antique sculpture and cited famous examples to demonstrate the validity of their arguments. The *Medici Venus* (Figure 30), for instance, is held up by both as the supreme exemplar of female beauty.⁵² Wright would have known the statue through prints, models, and casts. The relation of head to neck and shoulders in Wright's *Portrait of a Woman* recalls the *Venus*, whose pose was said to represent the naked goddess responding modestly to an unexpected intruder. The veneration of classical marbles lies at the heart of two of Wright's candlelight pictures: *Three Persons Viewing the Gladiator by Candlelight* (1765)⁵³ centers on *The Borghese Gladiator*,⁵⁴ and *An Academy by Lamplight* (1770)⁵⁵ on *Nymph with a Shell*.⁵⁶ It



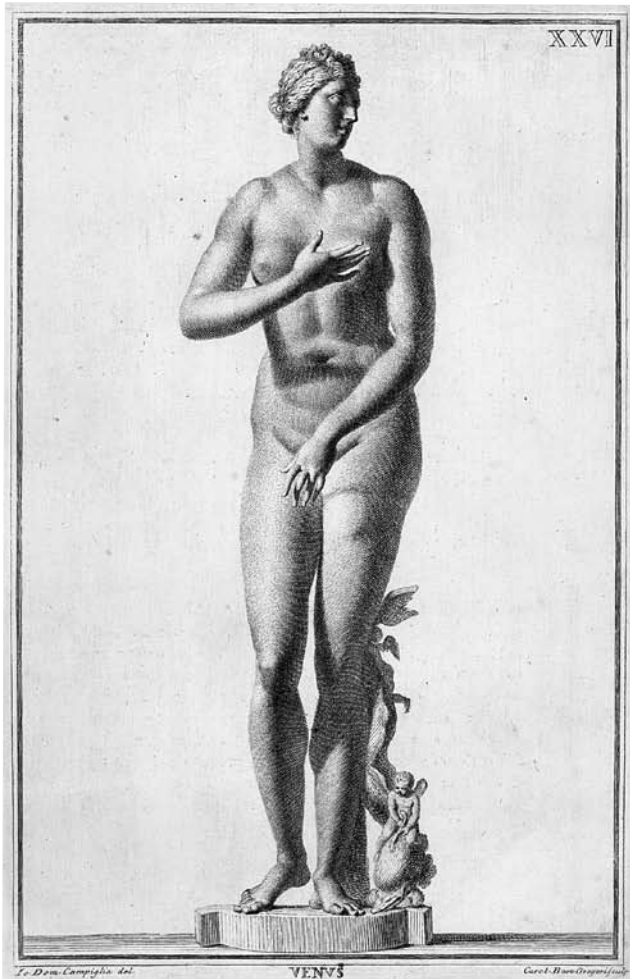
27. Thomas Worlidge (British, 1720–1766). *Rembrandt's Head, by Himself*, before 1766. Etching and engraving, 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (21.3 x 16.1 cm). British Museum, London (1858,0417.445). © Trustees of the British Museum

is not surprising, therefore, to find the artist paying tribute to another famous statue in one of his monochromes. Barker has noted how Wright rendered the stone nymph in *An Academy by Lamplight* soft and lifelike to underscore the Pygmalion-like admiration of a student.⁵⁷ In *Portrait of a Woman*, Wright actually brought his classical source to life. By doing so, he followed Rubens's famous advice that "in order to attain the highest perfection in painting, it is necessary to understand the antiques. . . . Yet [this knowledge] must be judiciously applied, and so that it may not in the least smell of stone."⁵⁸ Wright's choice of monochrome may hint at marble, but the masterful application of pastel evokes, far more powerfully, the soft flesh and moist reflective quality of his living subject's eyes, nose, and lips.

Portrait of a Woman, together with Wright's other monochrome heads from the same period, reconsidered the seventeenth-century informal, expressive portrait head. His references to British, Continental, and classical models added meaning and evoked character. Recent aesthetic and philosophic discussion about beauty and naturalism influenced the pose and dress of Wright's female subject. In the male portrait heads, by contrast, he emphasized texture and tone, juxtaposed rough and smooth passages, and set dark against light. This recalled Dutch precedents widely available through reproductive mezzotints, and Wright was undoubtedly influenced by the intensely tonal character of that medium. The formal distinction he drew between qualities associated with beauty, applied to a female subject, and



28, 29. *Tranquility and Simple Love*. Le Brun 1701, figs. 1, 15



30. Carlo Bartolomeo Gregori (Italian, 1719–1759) after Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (Italian, 1692–1768). *Venus Anadyomene (Medicea)*. Gori 1734, pl. 26

the rougher, textural mode he developed for males, is notable. It anticipates a debate that was shortly to erupt in Britain around the concept of the Picturesque.⁵⁹ While that term is normally considered in relation to landscape, it is evident that a similar division between rough and smooth forms characterizes Wright's figural conception in the monochrome portraits he drew between 1769 and 1771.

NOTES

1. Barker and Kidson (2007, pp. 166–67, 177–78, nos. 39, 40, 51, 52) establish dates for these works coincident with Wright's residence in Liverpool and propose likely models. Barker (in *ibid.*, p. 177) suggests that Wright may have given several to the sitters "as tokens of friendship" before he left for Italy in 1773. For an earlier discussion of the group, see Egerton 1992, pp. 113–23, 183–84.
2. The primary references for these drawings are as follows: Figure 11: Nicolson 1968, no. 166; Forrester in Wilcox et al. 2001, no. 12; and Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 51; Figure 12: Nicolson 1968, no. 135, and Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 52; Figure 13: Egerton 1990, no. 71, and Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 39; *Study of a Girl Wearing a Turban or Pompom* (ca. 1770; black and white chalks on blue paper laid onto canvas, 17¼ x 11¾ in. [43.8 x 29.8 cm]; private collection, U.K.); Egerton 1990, no. 72, and Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 40; Figure 14: sale, Sotheby's, London, November 30, 2000, lot 5.
3. Nicolson 1968, no. 165; Druick and McCullagh 1991, no. 23; Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 50.
4. Barker and Kidson 2007; Barker 2003; Barker 2009, which she generously made available.
5. See Postle 1998 for a useful overview of the genre.
6. Forrester (in Wilcox et al. 2001, no. 51, confirmed in Barker and Kidson 2007, pp. 177–78, no. 51) convincingly identifies Wright's close friend Peter Perez Burdett as the subject of the drawing in Figure 11. Barker and Kidson (2007, pp. 45–47, no. 52) suggest Richard or William Tate as the subject of Figure 12. Wright rented lodgings from the merchant Richard Tate in Liverpool.
7. Nicolson 1968, nos. 7–9, 15, 32, 123, 134; Barker and Kidson 2007, nos. 15, 16, 19–21, 24, 26.
8. Wakefield 1984, p. 58.
9. Rousseau's primary writings appeared in English as follows: *A Discourse of Mr. Rousseau of Geneva, . . . Whether the Revival of the Arts and Sciences Has Contributed to Render Our Manners Pure? Proving the Negative* (London, 1752); *A Discourse upon the Origin and Foundation of the Inequality among Mankind* (London, 1761); *Eloisa, or A Series of Original Letters . . .* (London, 1764); *Emilius and Sophia, or A New System of Education* (London, 1762); *The Miscellaneous Works of Mr. J. J. Rousseau* (London, 1767).
10. Wright was based in Derby at this date. Rousseau arrived in London in January 1766 with the Scottish philosopher David Hume and stayed with him for three months before moving to Wootton Hall, Staffordshire, the home of Richard Davenport. He returned to France in May 1767; see Egerton 1990, p. 116; Barker and Kidson 2007, p. 89; and Smart 1999, p. 175, no. 451 (Allan Ramsay's 1766 portrait of Rousseau; National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh).
11. The pastoral mode in literature originates with Theocritus' *Idylls* and Virgil's *Eclogues* and was revived by Italian poets of the fourteenth century. Influential early British examples include Edmund Spenser's *The Shepherdes Calender* (1579), Christopher Marlowe's *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love*, and John Milton's *Lycidas* (1637).
12. Many portraits of this type by Lely and Kneller were reproduced in mezzotint by John Smith and James McArdell (1728?–1765); see Goodwin 1903, no. 126; and Chaloner Smith 1883, vol. 3, nos. 119–229. Wright's teacher, Thomas Hudson, often worked in a more lighthearted pastoral vein, dressing female subjects as shepherdesses. Wright himself used this mode in several portraits painted about 1770. See Hudson's *Mary Carew* (as a shepherdess; Miles and Simon 1979, no. 10) and Wright's *The Bradshaw Children* (holding a lamb; 1769, mezzotint by Valentine Green [1739–1813]

- in Egerton 1990, p. 237, no. 155) and *Anna Ashton, Later Mrs. Thomas Case* (as a shepherdess; oil on canvas, ca. 1769; University of Liverpool Art Gallery; Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 20). Stewart (1976) discusses Wright's frequent borrowings from mezzotints by Smith.
13. A decade later Wright explicitly combined Rousseau and the pastoral in *Brooke Boothby* (1781; Tate Britain; see Egerton 1990, pp. 116–18, no. 59, and Cummings 1968), where the subject lies in melancholy solitude next to a brook in a deserted landscape, holding a volume inscribed *Rousseau*. Boothby met Rousseau during the philosopher's 1766–67 stay in England and subsequently published his first dialogue, in 1780. In the portrait of Boothby, Wright used a visual pun to link the subject's name with the depicted brook and combined this with the prominent book to evoke famous lines from Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, a primary exemplar of pastoral literature. In act 2, scene 1, the duke sums up the advantages of exile in words that anticipate Rousseau: "And this our life, exempt from public haunt, finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything."
 14. Miles and Simon (1979, introduction, p. 4n33, nos. 67–78) indicate that Hudson's career and collecting both began in earnest after the retirement of Richardson, and that Hudson bought many works from his father-in-law's estate. The catalogues of Hudson's estate sale, together with collector's marks on located sheets, give us some understanding of the estate's contents. It included, for example, eight sheets attributed in the eighteenth century to Rubens and thirty-three portrait studies by Van Dyck that are now in the British Museum.
 15. Stainton and White 1987, pp. 69–70, 85–87, nos. 29, 45–47.
 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–26, 128, nos. 88, 89, 91.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 208–9, no. 165 (Dahl, *Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford*, British Museum); pp. 228–29, no. 182 (Richardson, *James Figg*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).
 18. Wallis (1997, nos. 13–30) lists these and illustrates several, all acquired by the Derby Museum and Art Gallery in 1995 from Leger Galleries, London; she states that Wright copied mainly from prints, but the scale and technique of his works suggest he also used drawings in Hudson's collection.
 19. Van der Veen 1997, pp. 69–80; Smith 1999, pp. 446–47; Liedtke in Liedtke et al. 1995, pp. 3–39.
 20. Van Straten 2002, pp. 173–75; Van Straten 1992, p. 132.
 21. Griffiths (1998, pp. 169, 263) demonstrates how British printmakers such as Richard Gaywood (ca. 1630–1680) and Jan Griffier (1645?–1718) adapted Dutch models. One could also profitably compare Prince Rupert's *Little Executioner* (Figure 23; *ibid.*, pp. 211–12), one of the first British mezzotints, to Wright's male monochromes.
 22. Wiel (1996) discusses the many eighteenth-century print series based on Piazzetta's character heads.
 23. The subscription notice for the first set of twelve mezzotints appeared in *The Public Advertiser*, April 28, 1760. Six more were published in 1761–62.
 24. Frye's influence on Wright is discussed in Nicolson 1968, vol. 1, pp. 31, 42–44, 46, 48–49; Wynne 1972, p. 83; and Egerton 1992, p. 118.
 25. Two chalk drawings Wright made after Piazzetta in 1751 are signed, dated, and numbered. The gap in their numbering suggests they once belonged to a longer series: *Old John Rotheram* (Derby Museum and Art Gallery) is dated "June 29th 1751 No. 2"; and *Head of Judith* (collection of Michael and Elizabeth Ayrton), "July 5, 1751, No. 6." See Nicolson 1968, vol. 2, pls. 2, 3; and Wallis 1997, no. 3. The male head resembles Piazzetta's *Saint Matthias* (1715–20; oil on canvas; private collection, New York), and the female head is based on Judith in Piazzetta's *Judith and Holofernes* (1738–42; oil on canvas; Accademia di San Luca, Rome); see Knox 1992, pls. 56, 130. Wright would have known these compositions through copies or prints (Egerton 1992, p. 116). Many poses in Wright's candlelight paintings of the 1760s could have been inspired by Piazzetta.
 26. Frye's earliest recorded work is a pastel (Wynne 1972, p. 79). Little is known of his training, but his facility with grisaille pastel and chalks was also common among slightly younger Irish artists known to have been trained at the Dublin Society Drawing School (founded in 1740 and led by Robert West [d. 1770]), some of whom, like Matthew William Peters (1741–1814) and Hugh Douglas Hamilton (1739–1809), subsequently worked in London (see Crookshank 1995, pp. 47ff.). Egerton (1992, p. 119) notes that Frye exhibited a mezzotint head and chalk or crayon portraits in 1760 at the Society of Artists in London, where Wright could have seen them. My thanks to Susan Sloman for pointing out the Dublin grisaille connection and to Elizabeth Barker for noting Wright's likely but still unexplored interest in Frye's draftsmanship.
 27. Egerton (1990, p. 64, and 1992, p. 20) suggests Wright had such a collar as a studio prop. He may have modeled it on Rembrandt's *Herman Doomer* (1640; MMA), owned by the Duke of Ancaster from 1750 and reproduced in mezzotint by John Dixon (ca. 1730–1811) as *The Frame Maker* in 1769 (see Liedtke et al. 1995, pp. 58–61, no. 8; and White, Alexander, and D'Oench 1983, no. 115, pl. 47). Several artists in Van Dyck's *Icones Principum* wear similar collars (see Mauquoy-Hendrickx 1991, nos. 1–90). Wright used them in Figure 13, *Study of a Young Girl Wearing a Turban or Pompom* (see note 2 above), *An Academy by Lamplight* (see note 55 below), and *Two Girls Decorating a Cat by Candlelight* (1770; Kenwood House; Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 38). The sitter in Figure 14 wears a more contemporary ruffled collar.
 28. See note 6 above. Barker and Kidson (2007, pp. 13, 15, 21, 43, 48, 52, 159, nos. 9, 10, 28, 36, 64–68) discuss Burdett's friendship with Wright.
 29. A rare copy of the print is in the MMA (68.589A).
 30. On Burdett's use of aquatint, see *ibid.*, pp. 36, 60, 72, nos. 63–66. Hopkinson (2007, pp. 87–92) notes that Burdett mastered the *mainière de lavis* technique by May 1771, probably by studying prints by the Abbé de Saint-Non that Rousseau brought with him to England and gave to George Harcourt, Viscount Nuneham. Burdett's *View of the Bridgewater Canal, Manchester*, an undated aquatint in the British Museum, is inscribed as after Rousseau.
 31. See Forrester in Wilcox et al. 2001, pp. 16–17, no. 2.
 32. Richardson was an influential critic and theorist, publishing *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (1715), *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as It Relates to Painting and an Argument in Behalf of the Science of the Connoisseur* (1719), and *An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy* (1722; with his son, J. Richardson Jr.).
 33. For example, see two 1760 mezzotints by Frye: *Man Wearing a Turban* and *Man Wearing a Turban, Leaning on a Book*. Egerton (1992, pp. 118–19) compares the latter to Wright's *Self-Portrait* in Chicago (Figure 15). Piazzetta's designs for heads wearing turbans include *Etiopie* and *Fanciulla con turbane*, both engraved by Teodoro Viero (1740–1819); see Wiel 1996, nos. 164, 165. Griffiths (1998, p. 211, no. 142) notes that Prince Rupert's *Little Executioner* (Figure 23) was a small version of his *Great Executioner*, a mezzotint of 1658. Both were based on a painting then thought to be by Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652); the English version appeared in John Evelyn's *Sculptura* (1662).
 34. Matthew Gregson, quoted in Hopkinson 2007, p. 89, from "Memoirs of P. P. Burdett," in "Materials towards a History of Liverpool," undated manuscript materials, Liverpool Records Office.

35. *Self-Portrait Wearing a Black Feathered Hat*, a charcoal and white chalk drawing in the Derby Museum and Art Gallery (Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 53; Egerton 1990, no. 54; Wallis 1997, no. 79) that was made at later date (ca. 1773–76) than the drawings discussed here.
36. Barker and Kidson 2007, p. 177, no. 52.
37. Barker 2007, pp. 46–49.
38. Hollstein 2007, vol. 18, B.16.
39. White, Alexander, and D’Oench (1983) discuss works by Rembrandt in eighteenth-century English collections, as well as imitations and copies made by British artists after Rembrandt.
40. For the Richardson, see *ibid.*, no. 53, pl. 7. For Hone’s mezzotint, based on his own lost painting, see *ibid.*, no. 17, pl. 12.
41. Wallis 1997, no. 25. Egerton (1992, pp. 113, 115, fig. 3) suggests this early drawing was based on “an unknown mezzotint” and proposes it as a precedent for the monochrome self-portrait at Chicago (Figure 15).
42. Rembrandt follower, *Bust of a Young Man* (ca. 1630; oil on panel, 8 x 6¾ in.; Philips-de Jongh Collection, Eindhoven; Rembrandt Research Project [RRP], Corpus, I C 39). Wright was probably aware that Hudson had used this supposed Rembrandt as the basis for his *Portrait of Charles Erskine* (ca. 1747; now Duff House Country Gallery, Scotland; see White, Alexander, and D’Oench 1983, pp. 29–30, no. 20, pl. 16).
43. Worlidge’s etching is inscribed: “Rembrandt’s head, by himself, Copied from the Original Painting now in the Collection of his Grace, the Duke of Argyle, by Thos. Worlidge Painter in Bath.” Miles and Simon (1979, no. 36, pl. 36) note that the painting probably belonged to the 3rd duke, Archibald Campbell, and hung either in the duke’s London house or at his villa at Whitton near Twickenham, when Worlidge copied it. Wright could also have used David Martin’s 1765 mezzotint after the same painting.
44. The first engravings after Le Brun’s drawings were made by Sébastien Le Clerc and published as twenty-four plates, illustrating fifty-seven heads, *Caractères des passions* (Paris, 1696). In 1698 Bernard Picart published *Conférence de Monsieur Le Brun . . . sur l’expression generale & particulière*, containing forty illustrations based on Le Brun; see Montagu 1994, app. 6.
45. Le Brun 1701. Montagu (1994, app. 6) lists the numerous later English editions.
46. Le Brun 1701, p. 14.
47. Egerton 1990, no. 21 (1768; oil on canvas; National Gallery, London).
48. Solkin 1993, p. 236.
49. Burke’s text first appeared anonymously on April 21, 1757, and proved so popular it was republished nearly every three years up to 1790 (see Boulton 1958, p. xxii).
50. Burke 1761, “Gradual Variation,” part 3, sec. 15, p. 216; see Boulton 1958, pp. lx–lxv, 115.
51. Hogarth 1753, chap. 10: “Of Compositions with the Serpentine Line,” pp. 50–66.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 66 (with the *Venus* placed at the center of the illustrative plate); Burke 1761, “On Grace,” sec. 22, p. 227. The *Venus* had been installed in the Villa Medici in Rome by the early seventeenth century and was illustrated by Perrier in 1638. In 1677 it was sent to Florence and was placed in the Tribuna of the Uffizi in 1688; Haskell and Penny (1981, pp. 325–28, no. 88) cite the many adulatory references to the statue and the large number of copies made at full scale for English gardens and as statuettes.
53. Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 10 (oil on canvas; private collection, on long-term loan to the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool).
54. Haskell and Penny 1981, no. 43. The *Gladiator*, now in the Louvre, Paris, was at the Villa Borghese in Rome from 1611 to 1807.

55. Barker and Kidson 2007, no. 32 (oil on canvas; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven).
56. Haskell and Penny 1981, no. 67. *The Nymph with a Shell* (also called *Venus and the Cockle Shell*) was at the Villa Borghese by 1638; it was taken to Paris about 1808 and is now in the Louvre.
57. Barker in Barker and Kidson 2007, p. 159.
58. Rubens, *De imitatione statuarum* (ca. 1608–10?), quoted in Harrison, Wood, and Gaiger 1998, p. 144–45. Roger de Piles translated Rubens’s previously unpublished text from the original Latin and included it in his *Cours de peinture par principes*, which was published in Paris in 1708 and in English in London in 1743 (as *The Principles of Painting*).
59. William Gilpin initiated the debate in 1782, with *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*. Stimulating responses by Richard Payne Knight and Uvedale Price continued to be published until 1810; these are summarized and discussed in Hussey 1927 and Hipple 1957, the latter in relation to Burke.

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Joseph Wright's Pastel *Portrait of a Woman* Part III: Technique and Aesthetics

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Where light, to shades descending, plays, not strives.

—John Dryden, 1694¹

The years from 1768 to 1773 were transformative in Joseph Wright's life. Having achieved fame with his candlelight paintings, he "would master the subtleties of linear perspective, radically alter the colors of his palette, test nonconventional media and reinvent his manner of applying paint."² In its physical properties and technique, *Portrait of a Woman* (Figure 3) exemplifies this new direction occurring in his artistic career. It is executed in pastel, a medium that Wright is not known to have used previously and would employ infrequently in subsequent years.³ That he seldom used it, that it was a departure from his highly glazed, enamel-like finishes and thus enabled him to create surfaces that were matte and opaque, and that its cool tonality was far different from that of his oils suggest that he approached this project as an exercise. Moreover, this essay proposes that Wright had a specific purpose in using pastel and in rendering his composition in grisaille. The singular optical properties of this medium and its technical challenges allowed him to explore new artistic practices as a means of expressing aesthetic ideas with imagery stripped of color.

To the present day, *Portrait of a Woman* and Wright's seven other fanciful heads have been described, with one exception, as having been executed in black chalk or charcoal with white chalk heightening.⁴ These materials—with their narrow tonal depth and range and coarse particles that resist layering—are generally applied in discrete strokes and by hatching and therefore could not produce the effects that were achieved in the Metropolitan's composition.⁵ Pastel, although also powdery, is unlike these other direct media. Whereas chalk is a natural material quarried from the earth

and used without modification save for its being shaped into sticks, and charcoal is made of twigs and vines that are fully charred in an enclosed vessel, pastel is a fabricated medium. It consists of one or more pigments ("compositions of colours . . . reduced to an impalpable powder"),⁶ a sparing amount of a weak binder, and an extender (a white powder, such as tobacco pipe clay, alabaster, or gypsum),⁷ which are kneaded together into a paste, rolled into sticks—referred to as crayons—and allowed to dry. Despite seeming to be a simple procedure, it was, in fact, complicated: producing workable crayons required that the basic recipe be adjusted to suit the individual properties of each pigment.⁸ Eighteenth-century manuals offered many recipes for pastel, but these were for edification alone; the same manuals advised their readers to purchase colors ready-made.⁹ Wright provided no information about his activity as a pastelist, and his infrequent use of the medium suggests that he, like most other artists, did not make his own crayons. Possibly he acquired them from "Sandys the colorman," who, according to a memo Wright made in his account book in March 1759, supplied his paints and prepared standard-size stretched canvases, but who as Charles Sandys (d. 1786) of Dirty Lane, Longacre, was also renowned as the best pastel maker in London.¹⁰

That Sandys was singled out for his exemplary pastel-making skills indicates that many others were similarly occupied at this trade. Indeed, this would have been the case, for the number of practicing pastelists and the taste for pastel, as that for portraiture, was widespread in Britain at the time. Admired by all members of polite society from the most prosperous to those with the smallest purse, whether they valued decorum and likeness or the new science of connoisseurship, pastel was valued for its brilliant colors, speed of execution, and relatively low cost. Wright would have had numerous opportunities to see and assess works in pastel, whose popularity burgeoned by the 1760s. Wright's

London experiences would have made him aware of crayon heads by George Knapp (1698–1778), Francis Cotes (1726–1770), and John Russell (1745–1806), a succession of notable teachers and pupils, the highly praised sculptural pastels of William Hoare (1707–1792) and Hugh Douglas Hamilton (ca. 1740–1808), and even those of the enterprising Arthur Pond (1701–1758), all of whom displayed their portraits at their painting rooms, the Society of Artists, the Royal Academy, and the homes of fashionable citizenry.¹¹ Wright's attention must also have been attuned to other accomplished artists in London and provincial centers who had tried their hand at this popular medium, among them Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788) and John Downman (1750–1824),¹² and he would have been aware of the impact of Continental artists working in this medium.¹³ Even if he did not personally know John Russell, his book, *Elements of Painting with Crayons* (London, 1772), and Robert Dossie's *Handmaid to the Arts* (London, 1764) would find places in his library.¹⁴ These, like other artists' manuals, encyclopedias, and learned discourses on the technology of color and art that proliferated throughout the eighteenth century, made knowledge of all types of materials and their practice readily accessible. It is inconceivable that pastel would have escaped Joseph Wright's notice.

One of the celebrated qualities of pastel that accounted for its popularity, as noted, was its vibrant, sensuous hues. Although Wright's fanciful heads were not done for commercial purposes, it is nonetheless significant that he did not take advantage of this distinguishing property but instead worked the medium in grisaille. Presumably he took this direction because of other features the medium offered. As an astute observer of artificial illumination who in his oils had demonstrated exceptional ability in rendering dramatic chiaroscuro and had employed innovative techniques to produce radiant details (glazed metal foils and methods of structuring canvases and colors to reflect or absorb light),¹⁵ he would have been attracted to the distinctive brilliance of pastel and realized that it provided an opportunity to experiment with a type of luminosity that was different from any other. Such effects were not the result of illusionistic effects or the impact of its colors but were inherent in its textural properties. Unlike the specular reflections from a continuous paint film, the bright, white light characteristic of pastel results from the scattered, diffuse reflections emanating from the loosely bound, irregular particles that constitute this powdery medium. Rather than its hues, it is this property that confers the opacity, the matte texture, and the bright, velvety radiance of pastel. Indeed, the reflections from such surfaces are likely to have inspired the comparable effect he achieved at about this time in oil by his new technique of dragging richly impasted paint across the uneven projecting weave of his canvases.¹⁶

This unique feature of powdery materials could well have been familiar to Wright. Of uncommon intellectual curiosity, he is likely to have been aware of the work of Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), who was profoundly admired by scientists, painters, and poets alike throughout the eighteenth century. In his widely read *Opticks* (1704), Newton had demonstrated that light reflected from a layer of powder (a gray made up of various colored pigments) had greater brilliance than light reflected from a sheet of paper of equal brightness when both were illuminated by the sun.¹⁷ Among nonscientists, similar claims were made for the exceptional light of pastel. Francis Cotes, the most prominent pastelist of midcentury Britain, described it as having the effect of fresco. Cotes's comparison is apt, for the characteristic surface light of both art forms contributes to the decreased saturation of their hues, an effect accounting for the commonly acknowledged pastel-like quality of fresco colors.¹⁸

Wright must have also carefully considered the textural consistency of his pastels, for to maximize such optical effects crayons had to be very soft and powdery.¹⁹ Too much binder would render them hard and compact and ineffective for this purpose.²⁰ Such crayons, like a pastel composition with a fixative coating, produced effects more like oil painting, a medium in which light penetrates the smooth varnish layer and the resins surrounding the pigment particles, giving the perception of these works as dark and lustrous. Quite purposefully, the small amount of binder typical of soft pastel crayons also accounted for the enduring brilliance of these colors, a prized feature far different from the inevitable yellowing of oil.

It is likely that these optical properties underlay Wright's rejection of oil for this head.²¹ Yet, even though the particular light of pastel may have appealed to him intuitively, it is possible that his awareness of its whiter tonality was also sparked by the widespread impact of William Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty* (1753). In this text, which Wright owned, Hogarth (1697–1764) argued against the then much admired golden glow of old master paintings and their tonal imitators. Favoring the high-keyed Rococo palette of his era, Hogarth asserted that such darkened hues were the result, not of the artist's intention, but of time and the decay of varnishes and resins.²² Wright's attentiveness to these observations on the quality of light is borne out in his Italian journal (1774–75), in which he praised the brushwork of several paintings by Titian (ca. 1485/90?–1576) but faulted their yellowed and browned state, despairing, as had Hogarth, that "time and varnishes had robbed [them] of [their] beautiful coloring."²³

Wright's decision to execute this head in grisaille rather than a chromatic palette may also have been inspired by the mode of application associated with pastel. Undoubtedly these gray tones would have found an immediate source in

the ubiquitous black and white of late eighteenth-century Neoclassical culture and its taste for the antique. Grisaille allowed him to imitate the surfaces of ancient marbles and that of stucco and painted decoration simulating them, to respond to the innovations of local Midlands pottery technology from Queensware to black Etruscan ware, to express his appreciation of onyx and sardonyx cameos and intaglios,²⁴ and to emulate the layered gradations of mezzotints.²⁵ Yet there were few precedents for monochromatic pastels. Among them were the crayon heads of Thomas Frye (ca. 1710–1762), perhaps those of William Pether (ca. 1738–1821),²⁶ a medallion portrait in grisaille by Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–1789),²⁷ and drawings of this type by Wallerant Vaillant (1623–1677),²⁸ but little evidence exists that Wright knew them. Furthermore, since black and gray crayons were colors “seldom used,” compositions in such shades were apt to have been scarce.²⁹

Perhaps more fundamental than such sources in choosing a grisaille scheme for this head were theoretical concepts that dovetailed with the handling properties of pastel. For Wright, the representation of light, shadow, and darkness had been integral to his aesthetic. In his candlelight paintings he had depicted volumetric form in artificial and nocturnal light and the type of shadow each casts, a discipline for which rules had long been in place. Similarly, in the nuances of his tenebrist palette, he had demonstrated his proficiency in the use of color, choosing his pigment mixtures “strictly in accordance with the colour of the light-source.”³⁰ Now, at this turning point, he again experimented with chiaroscuro but did so by removing color from his palette. Grisaille, the representation of form in relief through the use of subtle tonal increments, was his response to ideas that had been central to artistic practice since the Renaissance, that of the inextricable correspondence between the proper distribution of light and shade and perspective. By the eighteenth century, such concepts enabling artists to give “the Appearance of Substance, Roundness and Distance”³¹ and instructions for the realization of these qualities underlay all teaching curricula from handbooks to theoretical treatises, including ones in Wright’s library. Among those which would have amplified his ideas were the English translation of Leonardo da Vinci’s *Treatise on Painting* (1721),³² the foundation of all subsequent discussions on the illusion of relief in painting; Hogarth’s *Analysis of Beauty*; and John Joshua Kirby’s *Dr. Brook Taylor’s Method of Perspective Made Easy* (1768).

Pastel was a perfect vehicle to apply these ideas of progressing and diminishing tonal values. On a salient level, this inherently soft powder is readily rubbed and spread thin to produce subtle gradations of color. *Portrait of a Woman*, however, was not executed in this diaphanous manner. Painterly pastels with substantial body and opacity, like this one, present different technical challenges. They cannot be

too densely layered, nor can their powdery colors be mixed on the support, for such processes risk muddying the hues, compressing the medium, and diminishing its capacity to reflect light. Producing a sculptural form demanded that it be modeled in close tonal gradations. Unique to this process in pastel was that each individual tint stroked onto the support was the product of a separate crayon, and each stroke was to merge into those adjacent to it by adroit lateral blending. Achieving the effect of a fully modulated volumetric form without mixing color yet preserving the medium’s distinctive optical properties also required that the pastelist have available scores of crayons in pure hues, tints, and shades, the latter two of which were composed of the given hue and a proportional admixture of white filler. This methodical process, and the remarkable number of gradations the artist might use, was described by Russell, who recommended proportions consisting of up to twenty parts of white to one of color.³³ Such closely related tints were required for imperceptible, seamless modeling, so that the pastel composition would look as if it had been “rendered with a brush,”³⁴ the aesthetic norm of the era that simulated sculpture, such as that associated with the crayons of Hoare and Hamilton rather than the broken modeling and loose strokes of Gainsborough and Daniel Gardner (1750–1805).

Wright’s monochromatic palette is constructed in the same manner as that described for color compositions but in a limited tonal range. It is composed of black, white, and gray pastels, the latter made with varying proportions of bone black, a carbon-based pigment,³⁵ and calcium carbonate, a white pigment that is combined with two extenders, anhydrite and gypsum.³⁶ There are no chromatic pigment particles in the mixture, indicating Wright’s intention to eschew color, to produce a neutral gray—an irreducible quotient—rather than conferring visual richness with a touch of a warm or a cool hue.³⁷ Although technical examination cannot quantify the proportional differences of black and white in these gray tones, the eye clearly perceives a range from dark to light, indicating that he worked with crayons in several gradations. To model the head with these tools, Wright would have started with the middle tones of the skin and proceeded down toward the dark grays and black of the hair and shadows of the background, and then upward from the middle tones toward the lightest tints, finishing by lightly blending the separate strokes to dissolve all evidence of their presence. In the most prominent detail of the image, the earring, Wright accented this gray scale with a vibrant, pure white highlight—an emphatic mark made with the broken point of the crayon whose rough surface augments the reflection of light. For the hoop he vigorously impressed a stroke of black chalk that plowed up fibers in its wake. The latter medium, whose identity is revealed by its glistening, coarse particles, is used only at this site (Figure 31).



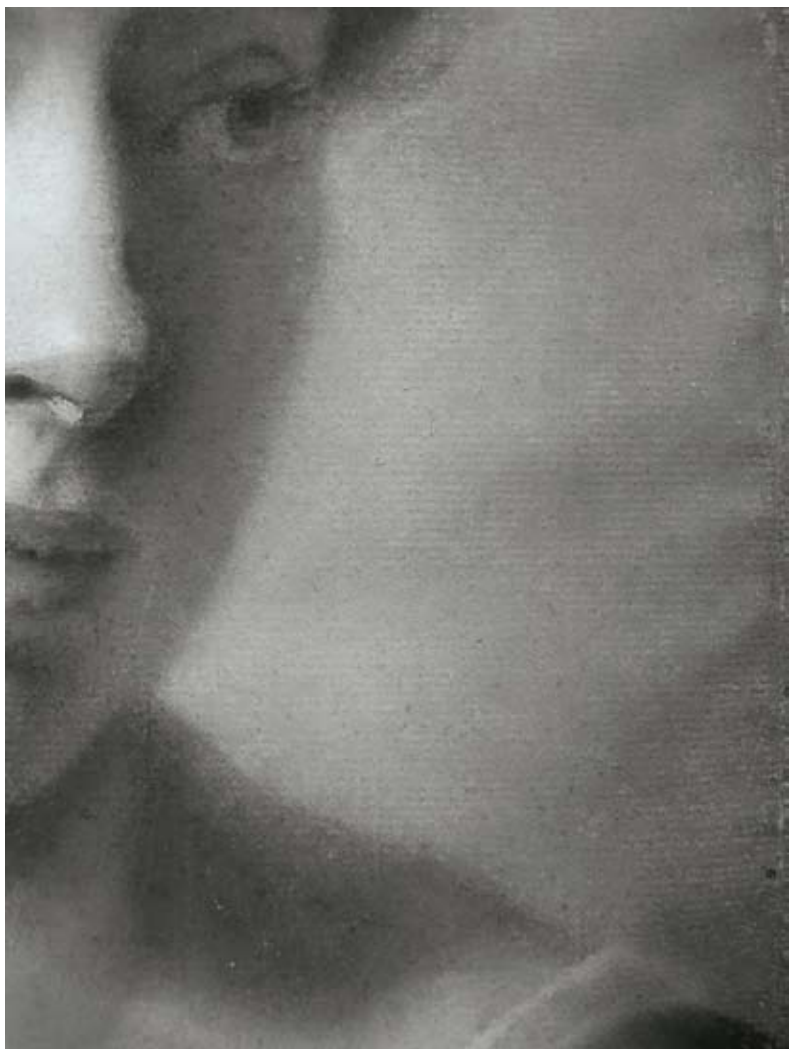
31. Detail of Joseph Wright's *Portrait of a Woman* (Figure 3) showing the earring hoop and highlight, with black chalk incised into the paste layer and white pastel applied in a thick and irregular stroke. Raking light (24x magnification). Photograph: Rachel Mustalish



32. Detail of Figure 3 showing intentionally abraded paper with fibers projecting through the pastel layer. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley

Although the smooth, marblelike surface of *Portrait of a Woman* indicates that Wright was not seeking to depart from the fashionable style of his recent work,³⁸ his use of grisaille represents his efforts at mastering concepts of chiaroscuro in a new medium. As a painter of candlelight pictures, he was intuitively capable of translating a chromatic palette to gray values, but for this exercise he may have been inspired by Kirby, the mathematical theoretician, or, in turn, his muse, Hogarth, the painter-theoretician to whom Kirby dedicated his book. Both were seeking to convey the same concept, the relation of shadow and perspective by the gradation of color. Kirby stated that "it matters not how light or dark a picture is," but rather "the Effects which Distance, or different Degrees or Colours of Light, have on each particular Original Colour, to know how its Hew or Strength is changed . . . [or] diminished according to its place."³⁹ Hogarth had expressed similar ideas in his hypothetical color scale for oil painting, one of the few examples of what might be construed as a recipe for grisaille, in that it emphasized the tonal increments necessary to produce the illusion

of relief. Advising the painter to choose any color for this monochromatic scheme, Hogarth noted that the scale was to be divided into seven numerical classes: an unmixed virgin tint at the center of the scale, three tints lightened upward toward white or the brilliance of the midpoint, and three sinking toward black "at twilight, or at a moderate distance from the eye."⁴⁰ Wright could have readily interpolated Hogarth's "retiring" progression for his grisaille pastel, as Hogarth's theory closely corresponded to the gradations of colored sticks that were inherent to this medium and their mode of application. Also connecting this theory to the practice of pastel is that Hogarth's scheme required that oil colors only be mixed on the palette. Similarly, in pastel, color was not mixed on the support but was selected from ready-made hues and gradations methodically assembled in the crayon box, which in effect served as the palette. Indeed, the technical connection between working with tints in dry color and the fairly common method of laying out an oil palette in premixed degradations of color, with each dab having a proportional amount of white paint (a tech-



nique intended to limit the amount of mixing on the canvas), may have contributed to the surge in the practice of pastel from midcentury and the corresponding adoption in oil of high-keyed pastel-like hues.⁴¹

As important as the theoretical concepts and established procedures that were fundamental to the execution of this portrait are the other technical means Wright used in this composition, for to him, orchestrating light and shadow also depended on manipulating his materials. *Portrait of a Woman* is executed on blue paper, a type of support commonly used for pastel and with which Wright was familiar from his drawings done in the studio of Thomas Hudson (1701?–1779). In these early studies (see Figures 4, 5), rendered in black chalk with white heightening, the broad areas of colored paper that are left in reserve between and around the strokes functioned as the middle tone,⁴² whereas in the Metropolitan’s portrait, as in other eighteenth-century pastels, the blue paper served a different chromatic role. Much like a colored painting ground, it was a point of departure from which the artist would “darken downward”

dark colors and “heighten” lighter parts,⁴³ its hue ultimately concealed by the medium’s opacity and the intentional covering of the entire surface with the thick powder.

Wright employed this process here, but in addition to removing all evidence of underlying color, his construction of this image relied on several other technical practices for its effect. Seemingly a work devoid of tactile qualities, it was in fact produced by his selective modification of the support for both functional and aesthetic purposes. Pastelists often prepared their papers by lightly rubbing the surface with pumice or a comparable abrasive to create a nap to hold the powdery color. However, on this sheet, a moderately sized laid paper of medium thickness that was inherently adequate to hold pastel, Wright did so only in the face and bodice, as is revealed under magnification by the fibers projecting through the pastel layer at these sites (Figure 32).⁴⁴ This treatment allowed him to establish a firm base for the dense layer of color and, more significantly, to obscure the laid and chain lines that would otherwise intersect the face and impair its sculptural character. In contrast, in the lower

33. Detail of background at lower right of Figure 3, showing laid lines visible through the pastel layer. Raking light. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley

34. Detail of neck and ear area in Figure 3, showing striations in the thick layer of pastel made with a stump. The smooth expanses of pastel were blended with the finger. Raking light. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley

right background the artist left the paper unaltered and applied the light gray pastel more thinly. In so doing he revealed traces of wire mold, whose alternating hollows and projections produced a sense of light emanating from behind the sitter (Figure 33).

Also accounting for the sculptural quality of this portrait was Wright's varied application of the crayons. Having a visual impact comparable to the uninterrupted passages in his oils that lack signs of the brush, these pastels were stumped, or "sweetened," a practice whereby the medium was applied in discrete marks that were then united and blended at their edges, "worked together so that there is no single Stroke."⁴⁵ To the unaided eye there is no evidence of Wright's hand, yet with magnification it is possible to discern his subtle methods for "finishing" the thick powder in this manner. In the lighter-hued, broad areas, such as the forehead, cheeks, and parts of the bodice, the pastel is modeled without any marks, indicating his fingers were his blending tool, whereas "in spaces too small for the finger,"⁴⁶ such as along the eyebrow and hairline, the striated lines in the delicate powder reveal the use of a stump made of soft paper or chamois tightly rolled to a point (Figure 32). Last, in the deepest blacks of the hair and shadows, Wright did not so much stump the pastel as impress it heavily onto the paper, yielding a thickly textured and seamlessly modulated surface, which owing to its intense darkness and absorption of light enhances the surrounding brightness of the gray tones (Figure 34). Unlike pastels that were "thin and scanty, [giving rise to] the appearance of a Drawing"⁴⁷ to his viewers the generally rich and flawless application of powder in this portrait would have brought to mind the effect of a painting. Even though pastel was a medium new for Wright, and one in which he further challenged himself by the use of a restricted palette, the technical diversity of this work is evocative of his oils, in which he would similarly vary the structure of the motifs within an individual composition to convey their distinctive qualities and to augment the play of light.⁴⁸

Of the eight monochromatic portraits, only *Study of a Girl with Feathers in Her Hair* (Figure 13) and *Study of a Girl Wearing a Turban or a Pompom*⁴⁹ remain untrimmed and in their original format: paper backed with canvas adhered to a wood strainer. This was the typical manner of mounting pastels in the eighteenth century: the taut, stretched paper provided a resilient surface on which to execute the composition and allowed for framing under glass. Based on Wright's painterly handling in this grisaille and his covering the entire sheet with pastel, it is likely that *Portrait of a Woman* was originally mounted as such and, apart from the aesthetic role it played in Wright's production, was intended as a presentation painting in the dry manner.⁵⁰

The identification of this work as a pastel and not a chalk drawing was recognized in the late nineteenth century, an

era that coincidentally saw the revival of this versatile medium. In the 1883 Derby exhibition, *Portrait of a Woman* and *Boy Reading* (Figure 14), both in the collection of Wright's direct descendant William Bemrose, were listed as crayon drawings, a description that must have survived from the artist's day but was ultimately ignored. Such errors were not uncommon, for the term *crayon*, though once a synonym for pastel as well as a designator of a direct-medium drawing tool, long ago lost its meaning and came to be associated with wax crayons used by schoolchildren. Confusion in identifying artists' materials regrettably persists and may be the case with the other grisaille heads by this artist. It would indeed be of interest to determine if these, too, were executed in the popular medium of pastel that Joseph Wright seems to have had a very specific reason for using in this *Portrait of a Woman*.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to Elizabeth Barker for generously providing her unpublished work on documents relating to Joseph Wright (published by the Walpole Society in 2009) and to Silvia A. Centeno, research scientist in the Department of Scientific Research at the MMA, who undertook instrumental analysis of the pastel components. I also express my appreciation to Samantha Hallman, Mary Jo Carson in the Paper Conservation Department, and Robyn Fleming of the Watson Library for their untiring assistance.

NOTES

1. Hogarth (1753) 1909, p. 174, quoting John Dryden describing the light and shades in a face in his epistle to Sir Godfrey Kneller, the portrait painter.
2. Barker 2003, p. 255.
3. Wright's extant colored pastel compositions include *Portrait of Harriet Wright*, ca. 1784 (Jeffares 2006, p. 567) and *Study of an Old Man* (Figure 10), executed many years later. The latter is an unfinished composition in which the color areas are loosely blocked in, with the pastel applied thinly and modeling at a minimum.
4. *Self-Portrait in a Fur Cap* (Figure 15) is described as pastel; the other sheets are described as black chalk, except for *Self-Portrait Wearing a Black Feathered Hat* (Figure 9), which is described as charcoal.
5. Charcoal was emphasized by all drawing manuals as a medium for rough drafts, since corrections were easily brushed away with a feather. Black chalk, generally acknowledged as carbonaceous shale with quartz, silica, and iron oxide inclusions can be hard and scratchy (Eastaugh et al. 2004, p. 51). Neither lends itself to being thickly layered because of the weak particle bonding.
6. Dossie 1764, pp. 195, 197.
7. Extenders are also referred to as grounds or fillers.
8. Recipes were presented in many artists' manuals, including Dossie 1764, a compendium of practical information for all branches of the arts, and Russell 1772.

9. Such advice was to alert the artist to the properties of well-made crayons and, as commercial colormen gained precedence over the studio workshop in fabricating colors, to warn of the adulteration of pigments that was now believed to be commonplace.
10. Many manuals provided information as to where and from whom to purchase crayons. Sandys is cited by Bowles 1760, p. 38, and by Müntz 1760, p. 116. His identity as a pastel maker is further corroborated by his trade card issued in partnership with John Middleton, as Sandys & Middleton (1772–75), the information stating that among other materials they “Make & Sell all Sorts of Crayons” (National Portrait Gallery, London, British Artists’ Suppliers, 1650–1950: www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/s.php). For Wright’s account book of 1750–63 in the National Portrait Gallery, London, see Jones 1991, p. 19.
11. Cotes was living in London by 1763. He was a founding member of the Society of Artists, exhibiting from 1760 to 1768, and was made a founding member of the Royal Academy in 1768. Hoare exhibited in London at the Society of Artists from 1761 onward and was also a founding member of the Royal Academy in 1768. Hamilton exhibited at the Society of Artists from 1766 to 1775.
12. Gainsborough produced pastels at Bath from 1770; Downman was in London from 1767. On the other pastelists active at this time and in Liverpool, see Barker’s article, page 98, note 48.
13. Among them, Maurice Quentin de la Tour (1704–1788), Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779), and the celebrity pastelist Jean-Étienne Liotard (1702–1789), whose pastels had taken London by storm during his first visit from 1753 to 1755.
14. For the holdings of Wright’s Library, see Barker 2003, pp. 339–423.
15. Metal leaf was used in *The Alchemist* and *An Iron Forge, Viewed from Without*. See Jones 1990, pp. 267–68; Jones 1991, p. 16.
16. Jones 1991, p. 14.
17. Newton (1730) 1952, p. 152.
18. “Notes on Crayon Painting by Francis Cotes,” *European Magazine*, February 1897, pp. 84, 85, quoted in Johnson 1976, p. 161.
19. Russell 1772, p. 31.
20. Boutet 1752, p. 123, who refers to such pastels as useless.
21. In addition to its microscopically “rough” surface, in pastel these optical phenomena also result from the great difference in the refractive index of the pigment particles and the binding medium or the air between them. In an oil painting, the similarity of the refractive indices of the pigment particles and the surrounding resins cause light to penetrate and be specularly reflected, that is, the angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection. A comparable effect occurs when pastel is coated with fixative: the spaces between the particles are filled, causing it to appear darker and diminishing the reflected light, factors accounting for the rejection of fixative as a final layer by many artists.
22. Hogarth (1753) 1909, pp. 193–96.
23. *Danae in the Shower of Gold* (Capodimonte, Naples), *Saint John in the Wilderness* (Santa Maria Maggiore, Venice), *Assumption of the Virgin* (Frari, Venice), *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (Church of San Giovanni e Paolo, Venice); see Bemrose 1885, pp. 37, 39.
24. He admired these in Naples and Pompeii (Bemrose 1885, p. 39).
25. Portraits in mezzotint enjoyed wide popularity in Liverpool at this time.
26. Pether may have introduced these heads to Wright (Barker 2003, p. 56). On Irish grisaille pastels possibly known to Wright, see McPhee’s article, page 110, note 26.
27. *Everard Fawcner*, pastel; Victoria and Albert Museum, London, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773 and 1774.
28. *Portrait of a Young Woman* (1648; black chalk, white and gray pastel, graphite on blue paper; MMA 1993.199).
29. Russell 1772, p. 40.
30. Jones 1990, p. 268.
31. *Compleat Drawing-Master* 1766, p. 7.
32. Leonardo da Vinci 1721.
33. Russell 1772, p. 33. Russell made his own colors, describing this process as progressively adding greater ratios of white to color, dividing each color group in half until the lightest tint was produced. The method remains in use today.
34. *Compleat Drawing-Master* 1766, p. 7.
35. Analysis undertaken by the author using polarizing light microscopy, with comparison to known examples of bone black, and descriptive information in Eastaugh et al. 2004, pp. 232–33. Bone black was praised by Müntz (1760, pp. 93–94), as “the most valuable of the black tribe for sweetness, and a transparent warmth for landscapes and figures; bone black and white alone will make softer and more natural turning tints than any other colours can produce. . . . The best is made of the bones of mutton trotters calcined.”
36. Silvia A. Centeno, to whom I am greatly indebted, undertook this analysis with Raman spectroscopy and X-ray fluorescence (XRF) (Archive, MMA Department of Scientific Research, TR 2007.40, 8.27.08). The anhydrite is anhydrous calcium sulfate. Dossie (1764) and others describe these ingredients, which were commonly employed for pastel.
37. The absence of colored pigment particles in the grays observed by the author using 90x stereo binocular magnification and polarizing light microscopy was corroborated by Centeno with Raman spectroscopy and X-ray fluorescence.
38. Notably, *Three Persons Viewing the Gladiator by Candlelight, An Academy by Lamplight*, and his earlier drawings after plaster casts such as *Study of a Seated Girl after Adriaen de Vries* (Figure 6).
39. Kirby 1755, chap. 7, p. 76.
40. Hogarth (1753) 1909, pp. 191, 190.
41. Gage 1999, p. 180.
42. Unlike pastel, black chalk is not readily stumped, layered, or blended with white chalk. The strokes are discrete. They can be variably spaced and hatched to model form and modified in tone by adjusting the pressure of the hand. In Wright’s drawings done in Hudson’s studio, such as *Portrait of Thomas Hudson* and *Francis Burdett of Foremark*, 1762–63 (both, Derby Museum and Art Gallery) and Figures 4 and 5, only the white chalk is stumped.
43. *Complete Drawing-Book* 1786, p. 8.
44. A slightly fibrous surface quality in the paper in the highlighted areas of the faces, evocative of that in the Metropolitan’s pastel, was observed through the glass of the following framed drawings: *Self-Portrait Wearing a Black Feathered Hat* (Figure 9), *Head of a Young Man in a Fur Cap* (Figure 12), *Head of a Man, Probably Peter Perez Burdett* (Figure 11), and *Self-Portrait in a Fur Cap* (Figure 15), which is described as a pastel.
45. Lens 1751, p. 7.
46. Dossie 1764, p. 216.
47. Russell 1772, p. 25.
48. Jones 1991, pp. 16, 17.
49. See McPhee’s article, page 109, note 2.
50. The Metropolitan’s sheet (and *Boy Reading* [Figure 14], which was also examined by the author) was adhered to millboard with proteinaceous adhesive on its verso along its trimmed edge. This mounting was probably done in the nineteenth century, when this type of secondary support came into widespread use for backing pastels.

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A Tale of Two Sultans

Part I: Fragonards Real and Fake

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The bequest of Walter C. Baker in 1971 was a major event for the fledgling Department of Drawings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Baker's collection of 121 old master and modern drawings included stellar examples from various schools and periods; it is a credit line still associated with some of the department's greatest treasures. Among the works illustrated in an article published in the Museum's *Bulletin* in 1960 to accompany an exhibition of the Baker drawings was a striking brown wash study by Jean-Honoré Fragonard entitled *The Sultan* (Figure 1). It shows a turbaned man in what appears to be Turkish dress seated at a table upon which a large volume lies open. A collector's mark at the lower right indicates that the drawing had been in the collection of Baron Vivant Denon, the first director of the Musée du Louvre, Paris. The technique is one associated with the artist's second trip to Italy, in 1773 and 1774, and was described thus in the *Bulletin* text by Claus Virch, then assistant curator of European paintings at the Metropolitan: "With a wide painterly range of tones from the most transparent to the deepest brown, and skillful use of the white of the paper, [Fragonard] creates an abundance of light."¹ *The Sultan* was also included in a compendium titled, unabashedly, *Great Drawings of All Time*, which appeared in four volumes in 1962.²

The drawing's star was not meant to be long in the sky, however. In the early 1960s many in the art market began to harbor suspicions about the authenticity of certain Fragonard drawings, especially as the publications of Alexandre Ananoff drew attention to the existence of multiple versions of many of the wash drawings.³ As the Parisian dealer and art historian Jean Cailleux put it in a letter to an American curator in 1969, "In truth, over the past few years, a few too many drawings identical to drawings already known have been discovered and come onto the market."⁴

Geraldine Norman, a sale-room correspondent at the *Times* of London, brought these discussions out from behind closed doors with a lengthy investigative article that appeared on March 8 and 9, 1978, in which she claimed that more than thirty wash drawings attributed to Fragonard were fakes. The majority had been published between 1961 and 1970 in Ananoff's catalogue raisonné of Fragonard's drawings with provenances that were vague, unverifiable, or falsified. Norman's article delivered sobering news to the many North American museums and collectors who had purchased drawings ascribed to Fragonard since the 1950s.

In the course of planning the Fragonard retrospective held at the Grand Palais in Paris in 1987 and at the Metropolitan in 1988, Pierre Rosenberg, of the Louvre, visited the Metropolitan's Drawings Study Room and examined the Baker *Sultan* with Jacob Bean, the first curator of the Department of Drawings. Together the two curators concluded that the Metropolitan's drawing had to be a forgery of the type described by Norman.⁵ Indeed, Rosenberg supplied an important piece of evidence illuminating the work of the forger: a photograph of a rare lithograph showing Fragonard's composition in reverse (Figure 3).

The lithograph had its origins in an ambitious publishing project undertaken in 1816 by Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), who was a collector as well as an artist and curator and wished toward the end of his life to immortalize his collection through a set of prints. The resulting four-volume *Monuments des arts du dessin chez les peuples tant anciens que modernes, recueillis par le Baron Vivant Denon*, which included 307 plates, saw the light of day only in 1829, four years after Denon's death.⁶ Although the lithograph after Fragonard's *Sultan* drawing does not appear in the published volumes, it survives in a few loose examples, suggesting that at some point the intention was to include it.⁷ The lithograph need not have been seen in the *Monuments des arts du dessin*, however, for the names of the maker and the collector of the drawing to have been known: the letter-

1. After Jean-Honoré Fragonard (French, 1732–1806). *The Sultan*. Brush and brown wash over graphite underdrawing, 14½ x 10⅞ in. (36.9 x 27.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.213)



ing on the print identifies both the artist, “Fragonard père del.” (Fragonard the elder),⁸ and the collection: “Tiré du Cabinet de Mr Denon” (From the collection of Monsieur Denon). Presumably using this lithograph as a model—for the dimensions of the motifs are identical—the forger cleverly created his drawing in reverse direction, perhaps with the aid of transmitted light,⁹ and added at the lower right a stamp (Figure 4) imitating that of Vivant Denon (Lugt 779; Figure 5), which featured the initials *D.N.* in an oval with an

ant and a sieve, an allegory, according to Lugt, “of the continual patience of the collector who must reject everything that is not useful.”¹⁰

The well-conceived plan of the forger encountered its first obstacle in the unexpected appearance at auction at Christie’s, London, in 1962 of a virtually identical drawing being sold from the collection of Lord Currie and Mrs. Bertram Currie (Figures 2, 6).¹¹ Jean Cailleux, who was attuned to the thorny issues raised by these twin sheets,



2. Jean-Honoré Fragonard. *The Sultan (A Seated Turk)*, 1774. Brush and brown wash over black chalk underdrawing, 14¼ x 11¼ in. (36.2 x 28.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Catherine G. Curran, 2008 (2008.437)

discussed them judiciously in September of that year in an article entitled "A Note on the Pedigree of Paintings and Drawings,"¹² where he pointed out that both drawings could not rightfully claim to be the one sold at the Brunet-Denon sale of 1846.¹³ Alexandre Ananoff included the recently discovered sheet in volume two of his catalogue raisonné of Fragonard's drawings, which appeared in 1963. He addressed the fact that there were now two drawings of the same subject, of the same dimensions, and bearing the

same collector's mark, concluding that both drawings must have been part of the celebrated collection, but that it was the Baker drawing that was described as lot 729 in A. N. Pérignon's catalogue of the Denon collection sale. This was so, he said, because of the close relationship between the lithograph and the Baker drawing and because Pérignon's catalogue made no mention of the annotation on the ex-Currie sheet. He postulated that the ex-Currie sheet must have been the *première pensée* for the Baker drawing,

3. After Jean-Honoré Fragonard. *The Sultan*, ca. 1816–26. Lithograph, 14½ x 11 in. (37 x 28 cm). Prouté collection, Paris



which he considered more “complete and executed in a more meticulous manner.”¹⁴

At this point, the debate essentially came to a halt as the Currie drawing was acquired at the 1962 London sale by a private collector and fell from view. The first published reference to the Baker drawing as a copy came a quarter of a century later, in 1987, in the form of a simple caption to an illustration in Pierre Rosenberg’s catalogue for the Fragonard exhibition held in Paris and New York.¹⁵ The sheet was not discussed in the text. It was only in 1996, in the context of the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts given at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., that Rosenberg addressed the issues of forgeries directly, using the two *Sultans* as illustrations, although the ex-Currie sheet was listed as “location unknown” and the image was based on the small black-and-white photograph that had appeared in the Christie’s catalogue in 1962 (Figure 6). The Baker sheet was described as “a forgery of exceptional skill.”¹⁶

The occasion for this article is the final chapter of the story—in fact, the happy ending. In an encounter never anticipated by the forger, the Baker *Sultan* has recently come face-to-face with the real *Sultan*. The clue to the lat-

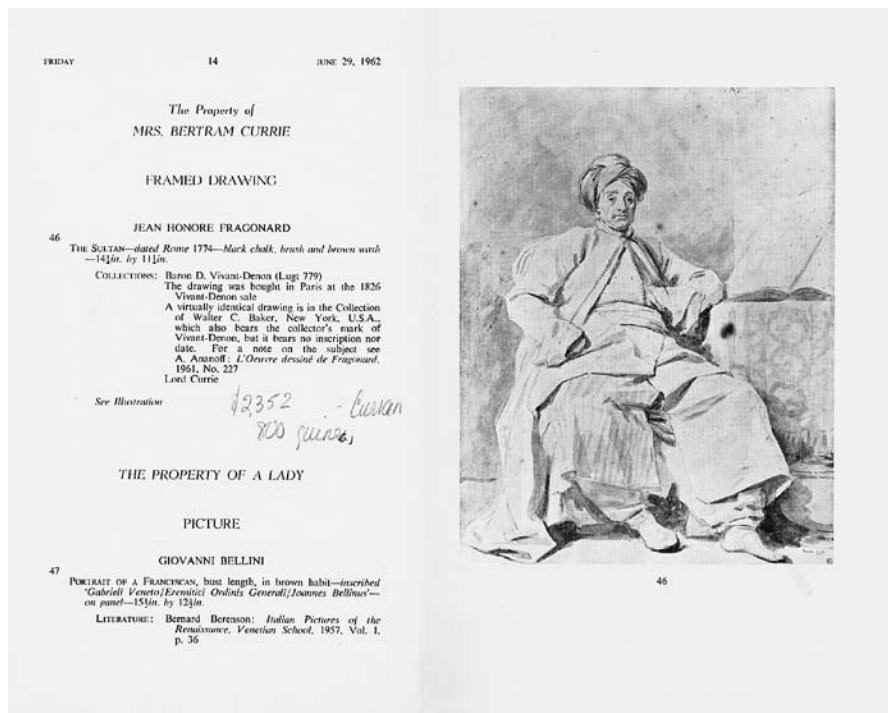


4, 5. Details of Figures 1 (left) and 2 (right), showing the collector’s mark at the lower right in each

ter’s location came in the form of a penciled annotation in the margin of the copy of the 1962 Christie’s catalogue kept in the Metropolitan Museum’s files (Figure 6), indicating the last name of the buyer, a collector who had lived in London in the 1960s but in more recent decades had resided on Park Avenue in New York City, only a few blocks from the Museum. With the genuine interest of the collector, Catherine G. Curran, the drawing was brought to the Museum for study in 2005, and subsequently offered as a promised gift.

Marjorie Shelley, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge of Paper Conservation at the Metropolitan, led the examination of the two works. Her observations on issues of paper, watermark, technique, and media appear in the following pages, although certain characteristics of the style of the two sheets can be noted here. The forgery, with its shorter life span, is in fresher condition and exhibits a much higher degree of contrast. The Curran *Sultan*, which was described as “montés sous verre” as early as 1797,¹⁷ has been subjected to more light exposure, which has somewhat darkened the paper and reduced the contrast. Nonetheless, the technique of the autograph sheet is more spontaneous, in both its underdrawing and its use of wash. Indeed, the free use of black chalk underdrawing was a hallmark of Fragonard’s graphic technique throughout his career.¹⁸ This can be seen best in the area of the legs and feet of the Curran drawing (Figure 8), where curvy and loose marks in black chalk, applied with little pressure, indicate the artist’s original intentions for the placement of the limbs, but are nowhere strictly adhered to. The Sultan’s proper right foot has been moved to the right, and the edge of the fabric falling from his proper left knee was modified as well.

The comparable area in the Baker sheet (Figure 7) has much less prominent underdrawing. Under close examination, however, traces of graphite can be seen demarcating the edges of forms in a light and broken line. Unlike in the autograph sheet, the underdrawing was followed with extreme



6. Sale catalogue, Christie's, London, June 29, 1962, lot 46, with a description and illustration of *The Sultan* (Figure 2) and penciled annotations

care by the forger who applied the brown wash. A revealing glimpse of the forger's technique can be found on the verso of *La confidence*, a Fragonard forgery in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, where another forged composition, *La lecture* (Figure 9), was left unfinished, its underlying structure of traced lines clearly visible in areas.¹⁹ When Ananoff described the Baker sheet in 1963 as "d'une technique plus

soignée" (executed in a more meticulous technique) he was certainly right. But it is ultimately this carefulness that exposes the forger's hand—Fragonard's *Sultan* and in fact all his brown wash drawings from this period are admired precisely for their qualities of freedom and improvisation. They are executed with speed, facility, and little concern for following the indications of the underdrawing.



7. Detail of Figure 1 (after Fragonard)



8. Detail of Figure 2 (Fragonard)



9. After Jean-Honoré Fragonard. *La lecture*. Brush and brown wash over black chalk underdrawing, 12 x 8¾ in. (30.4 x 22.3 cm). National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (15125)

Fragonard's virtuoso handling of wash can also be appreciated by comparing the head in the Baker drawing, where the wash is more blocky and less translucent (Figure 10), with the same area in the Curran drawing (Figure 11). A profitable comparison can be made with the related study of the head alone that was left to the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon, by Pierre-Adrien Pâris (Figure 12).²⁰ Although Fragonard emphasized the figure's weathered and world-weary features more in this study of a head than in his full-length treatment, the technique of the drawing is directly comparable to the Curran *Sultan* (Figure 2), as is evident both in the free underdrawing and the use of layered, translucent wash. The Besançon study of a head was clearly done from life and likely at the same moment as the full-length drawing. The two have in common the angle the face is seen from and the strong light source to the left and could well have been made in the same drawing session.

The inscription on the Curran sheet reads *Roma 1774* (see Figure 2). This was during Fragonard's second visit to Italy, approximately two decades after his crown-sponsored student trip, when he accompanied the *fermier général* Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt (1715–1785) on a trip to Italy and parts of central Europe. The group stayed in Rome from early December 1773 until mid-April 1774, where they participated in the life of the French



10. Detail of Figure 1 (after Fragonard), showing the wash in the area of the head



11. Detail of Figure 2 (Fragonard), showing the wash in the area of the head



12. Jean-Honoré Fragonard. *Head of a Turbaned Man*, 1774. Brush and brown wash over black chalk underdrawing, 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (32.2 x 26.4 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Besançon (D.2944)

Academy in Rome, then housed in the Palazzo Mancini. Many of the brown wash drawings Fragonard made on this trip—although not the sanguine ones—bear similar neatly penned inscriptions with the location and date. It seems logical to assume, as Pierre Rosenberg has,²¹ that this writing is Bergeret's, as Fragonard was not typically prone to such documentary urges. Whether the Roman drawings stayed in Bergeret's collection after the trip remains unclear,²² but the drawing of the seated Turk seems to have been part of Desmaret's stock when it was sold at auction in 1797 along with seven other brown wash sheets seemingly from the second Italian trip.²³ It was probably at this point that it entered the collection of Vivant Denon.

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the title *Le sultan*, which both sheets claimed in the twentieth century, dates back only to the catalogue of the sale of the collection of Dominique-Vivant Brunet-Denon, Vivant Denon's nephew, in 1846.²⁴ The less fanciful title, *Un turc assis* (A Seated Turk), used in the Desmaret's sale in 1797 and the Vivant Denon sale in 1826,²⁵ is more appropriate to the image, for although the costume is clearly Turkish, there are no special signifiers, in either the clothing or the iconography, to suggest the rank of sultan. While it is not impossible that Fragonard encountered a Turk in Rome, the more likely sce-

nario is that the Besançon and New York sheets represent a modeling session where a European man posed in Turkish costume. Fragonard may well have seen some of the many drawings and oil sketches made by French *pensionnaires* for the Masquerade of 1748, where as part of the Carnival festivities in Rome French students donned exaggerated homemade Turkish costumes to stage a "caravane du Sultan à la Mecque."²⁶ In contrast to the fanciful masquerade quality of the 1748 drawings, among them Joseph-Marie Vien's *prestre de la loy* (minister of the law) with his plume and pearl-bedecked turban (Figure 13),²⁷ Fragonard's Turk is sober and naturalistic and reflects the tradition at the Académie de France of drawing from draped figures as a training exercise for history painters.²⁸ Nonetheless, it is ironic that the subject of the Metropolitan's forgery is itself a forgery: a man dressing up in exotic attire, masquerading as something other than he was.

With the recent arrival of *A Seated Turk* as part of the bequest of Catherine G. Curran, the Metropolitan not only gains an important example of Fragonard's mastery of brown wash drawing at the time of his second trip to Italy but will also be able to offer future students of drawing the opportunity to study side by side an authentic example of his draftsmanship and a brilliant copy once celebrated as a masterpiece of the Museum's collection.



13. Joseph-Marie Vien (French, 1716–1809). *Le Prestre de la Loy*, 1748. Black and white chalk on blue paper, 18 x 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (45.8 x 32.2 cm). Musée du Petit Palais, Paris (D. Dut. 1076). © Petit Palais / Roger-Viollet

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For their assistance I would like to thank Carole Blumenfeld, Sonia Couturier, Stephen Geiger, George Goldner, Suzanne McCullagh, Hubert Prouté, Pierre Rosenberg, Marjorie Shelley, and Eunice Williams. I am also indebted to the late Catherine G. Curran, who will be fondly remembered for her kindness and generosity.

NOTES

1. Virch 1960, p. 316.
2. Moskowitz 1962, no. 700.
3. This statement is based on the recollections of several scholars active in the field at the time.
4. "Il y a eu en effet, depuis quelques années, un peu trop de dessins identiques à des dessins déjà connus qui ont été découverts et mis sur le marché" (Jean Cailleux to Harold Joachim, February 3, 1969, museum files, Art Institute of Chicago).
5. Oral communication, Pierre Rosenberg, 2005.
6. Marie-Anne Dupuy in Paris 1999, p. 400, no. 438.
7. In the catalogue of the Denon sale 1826, lot 729—Fragonard's *Sultan* drawing—was marked with an asterisk, indicating that the sheet had been lithographed.
8. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, when the artist's son, Alexandre-Évariste Fragonard (1780–1850), was active, it was common to refer to Jean-Honoré as "Fragonard père." The collector Xavier Atger (1758–1833), for one, annotated his Fragonard drawings in this way. See Stein 2007, p. 308, fig. 16.
9. Alexandre Ananoff (1956) put forward the claim that Fragonard had made line-for-line copies of his own drawings, suggesting "transparence à la vitre" as a possible method by which he would have done this and commenting on the ease of making ink for brown wash drawings from chimney soot.
10. "[À] la patience continuelle de l'amateur qui doit rejeter tout ce qui ne peut être utile." Lugt 1956, p. 140.
11. Sale, Christie's, London, June 29, 1962, lot 46.
12. Cailleux 1962, pp. ii–iii.
13. Brunet-Denon sale 1846, February 2, part of lot 271. Dominique-Vivant Brunet-Denon was the nephew of Vivant Denon.
14. "Nous pensons que ces deux dessins firent effectivement partie de la célèbre collection, mais c'est celui décrit au no. 227 [the Baker drawing] qui figure sous le no. 729 dans le catalogue de Pérignon [of the Denon collection]. Les raisons qui nous font pencher en faveur de cette thèse sont les suivantes: 1° Les rapprochements entre la lithographie et le dessin (no. 227) comportent de nombreux points communs; 2° Pérignon ne fait aucune allusion à l'annotation; 3° Le présent [ex-Currie] dessin semble être une première pensée pour l'oeuvre no. 227, plus complète et d'une technique plus soignée." Ananoff 1961–70, vol. 2 (1963), p. 80, no. 758, fig. 209.
15. Rosenberg 1988, pp. 380–81, under no. 178, fig. 3.
16. Rosenberg 2000, pp. 132, 136–37, figs. 175–77, and more recently, Rosenberg and Lebrun Jouve 2006, p. 154, fig. 85a.
17. The catalogue of the Desmarests "Cessation de commerce" sale, Paris, March 17, 1797, and days following (Lugt 5555) lists a framed drawing by Fragonard as lot 85, "Un turc assis, dessin lavé au bistre, sur papier blanc—haut.r 14 pouces, larg.r 10 pouces 1/1," which seems likely to be the drawing that entered Denon's collection. I thank Carole Blumenfeld for bringing this citation to my attention.
18. Williams 1978, p. 21.
19. For the original drawing of *La lecture*, see Rosenberg 1988, pp. 328–30, no. 270.
20. Rosenberg and Lebrun Jouve 2006, pp. 154–56, no. 85.
21. Rosenberg 1988, p. 364.
22. Stein 2007, pp. 305–8.
23. See note 17 above.
24. As in note 13 above.
25. See notes 17 and 7, respectively.
26. Volle and Rosenberg 1974, pp. 25–43.
27. On Vien, see Paris 1992, pp. 37–75, nos. 11–33.
28. The practice was initiated by Nicolas Vleughels in 1732, mainly for ecclesiastical dress, discontinued under Jean-François de Troy, and reinstated during the tenure of Charles-Joseph Natoire (1750–1774), mainly for dress *all'antica*. See "Note sur l'enseignement de la draperie au XVIIIe siècle," in Pagliano 2005, pp. 38–47.

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A Tale of Two Sultans

Part II: The Materials and Techniques of an Original Drawing by Fragonard and a Copy

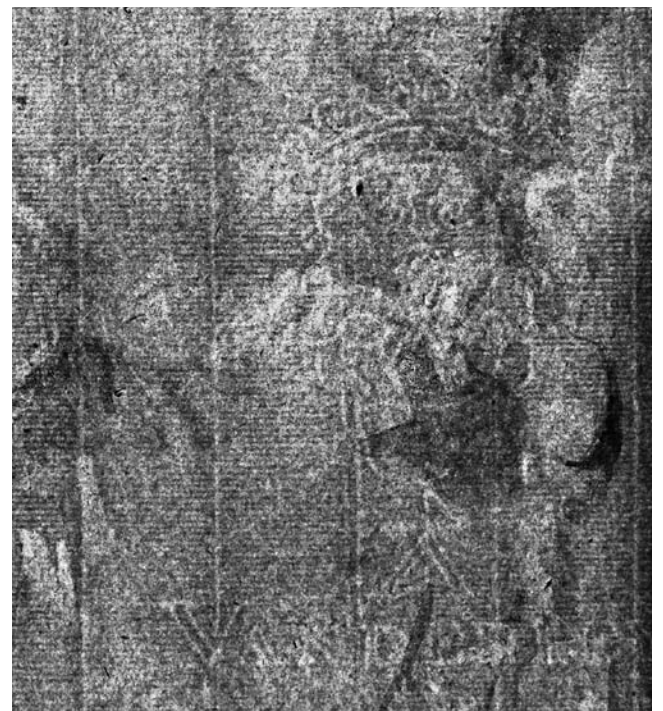
MARJORIE SHELLEY

Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge of Paper Conservation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

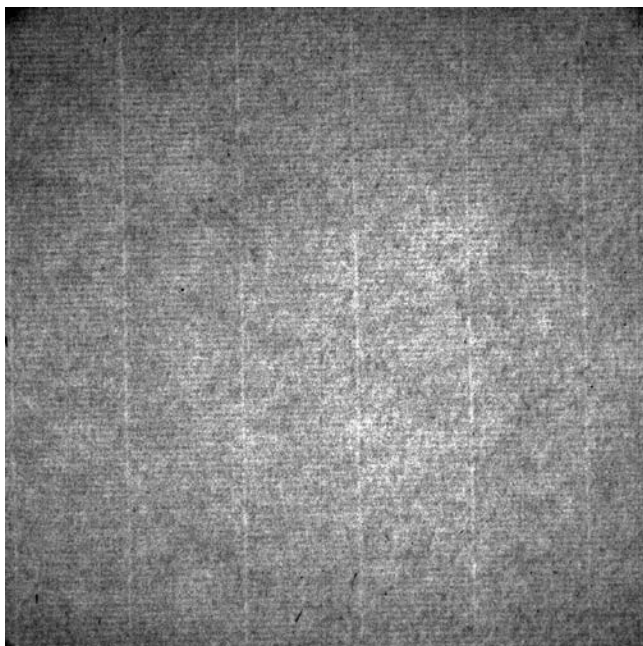
Among the more than thirty drawings by Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) whose authenticity has been questioned is *The Sultan*, which entered the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1972 as part of the bequest of Walter C. Baker (Figure 1). As a result of recent research undertaken by Perrin Stein, the corresponding original drawing of this subject, *The Sultan (A Seated Turk)* (Figure 2), was brought to light and in 2008 was given as a gift to the Metropolitan by Catherine G. Curran. Stein’s article in this issue (pages 121–29) discusses the intriguing history of these two drawings and others that have been determined to be copies.

That the Baker drawing (Figure 1) was skillfully executed cannot be refuted, especially when it is studied independently of the original. On its own, it evokes the salient characteristics associated with Fragonard’s draftsmanship: spontaneity, broad fluid washes, a range of transparent brown inks, and minimal perceivable underdrawing. Collectively these features would have been persuasive in convincing collectors and museums in the 1950s, when the Museum’s drawing and several other comparable sheets first appeared on the market, that they were autograph. Starting in the 1960s circumstantial evidence¹ and astute connoisseurship raised doubts about their authenticity. In the 1970s several of the questioned drawings in North American collections were submitted to scientific analysis but with inconclusive results,² and in 1996 the Metropolitan’s *Sultan* was dismissed as a “forgery of exceptional skill.”³ The presence of both the original and the imitator in the Museum’s collection has provided an unusual opportunity to compare them side by side and to undertake a technical assessment of their materials and techniques.

With regard to its material properties, the simplest and perhaps most objective evidence supporting the lack of authenticity of the Baker drawing is the paper on which it is executed. Examination of the Curran paper in transmitted light and by radiography reveals it to be a fine antique laid—indicated by the shadowy deposit of pulp along the chain lines—with a partially illegible eighteenth-century watermark consisting of a bird, a shield, the letters VAN, and a crown with the letters CR (Figure 14).⁴ The Baker sheet, which does not have a watermark, lacks shadows along the chain lines (Figure 15), readily indicating that, as Geraldine



14. Antique laid paper in Figure 2 in transmitted light. The unevenness of the image results from the sheet having been skinned on the verso. Photograph: Rachel Mustalish



15. X-ray of machine-made dandy roll paper in Figure 1. X-ray: Rebecca Capua

Norman, the sale-room correspondent for the *London Times*, recognized in 1978, it is a machine-made paper. Fragonard did, in fact, live to see the invention of machine-made paper (the English version introduced in 1798 and the French Fourdrinier in 1803), hence this cannot be used to dismiss the authenticity of the Metropolitan's sheet. The method for producing laid and chain lines and watermarks on machine-made wove paper, however, was not developed until 1825, nineteen years after Fragonard's death. These marks were formed with a "dandy roll," a ribbed, cylindrical frame covered with a wove or laid wire-mesh cloth that was momentarily impressed upon the wet, semi-formed paper while it was on the rapidly moving paper machine.⁵ Clearly the copyist did not take this historical fact into account, for the efforts he expended to convincingly replicate the draftsmanship of the original *Seated Turk* were not matched when it came to choosing paper.

Although initial examination of the paper alone proved conclusively that the Baker sheet was not executed by Fragonard, it did not explain why and how this drawing had managed to elude so many for so many decades. To investigate this the components of the design layer were examined using a battery of nondestructive scientific means: stereobinocular magnification, infrared reflectography, X-ray fluorescence, Raman spectroscopy, beta radiography, and transmitted light. Because the underdrawing media and the types of inks in the original and in the copy were in continuous use from the eighteenth century to modern times, however, they defied dating to a circumscribed historical period. Thus the final judgment, that the Baker *Sultan*

is a copy, relied not on identification of the materials alone but also on close inspection of the methods by which they were applied.

Except that it lacks the pen and ink inscription *Roma 1774* and that the sheet is of slightly different dimensions, the Baker *Sultan* is a skillful transcription of the original. Superimposing the drawings one above the other over a light box reveals that each image is precisely the same size and that the placement of each detail, each shadow and highlight, corresponds exactly. Yet despite these similarities it is evident that two different artists were at work.

The two drawings were developed in a similar manner, beginning with an underdrawing followed by layers of transparent wash, the distinctive style Fragonard introduced in his drawings from his second journey to Rome in 1773–74. As countless descriptions of his works on paper attest, Fragonard often used black chalk or graphite for the preliminary stage of a composition or as an independent medium. Black chalk (generally held to be a carbonaceous medium that may include a variable range of compounds such as graphite, quartz, and iron oxides) had enjoyed widespread popularity since the Renaissance, but by the late eighteenth century its use had begun to wane owing to the increasing scarcity of good-quality material and the fact that it was gradually being supplanted by fabricated crayons. Under magnification the physical structure of black chalk is generally characterized by round, powdery, black particles such as those found in the Curran sheet and other works of the same era.⁶

Unlike that in the Curran sheet, the underdrawing material in the Baker sheet has been precisely identified as graphite. Though natural graphite was occasionally used by artists in France and elsewhere in Europe during the eighteenth century, it became a ubiquitous drawing medium after 1795, when a manufacturing process was introduced that transformed this quarried substance in combination with clay into one that was homogeneous in color and texture.⁷ Both natural and fabricated types would have been available to Fragonard. Each has a silvery, metallic-like reflectance and irregular plate-shaped particles, and their Raman spectra are comparable.⁸

In the absence of distinguishing properties, the underdrawing clearly cannot then be used as a means of establishing the time frame or dismissing the authenticity of the Baker *Sultan*. Comparison of this phase of the drawing process in the two sheets—the placement of the strokes and the pressure of application—however, offers evidence of their differences and gives insight into how the copyist went about his work. In the Curran *Sultan* (*A Seated Turk*) the underdrawing shows Fragonard's characteristic rapidity, the bold and assured lines that serve as an abstract, calligraphic armature for his brushwork. Where the strokes are readily

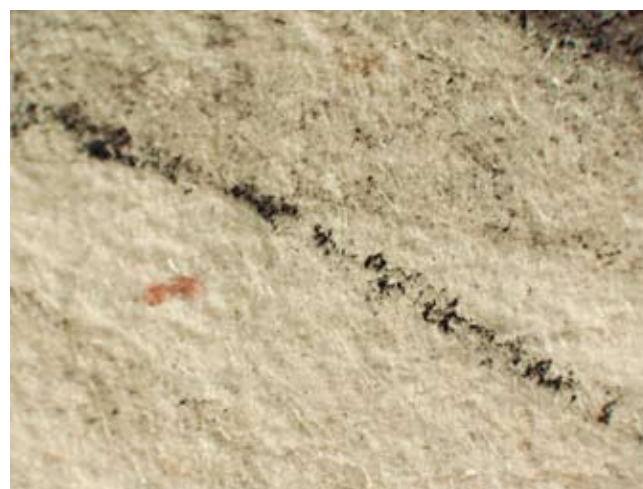
16. Enlarged detail of the foot in Figure 2, showing the freely applied black chalk underdrawing worked independently of the diffuse ink washes. The dark areas resulted from variations and pauses in the flow of the ink rather than methodical layering of the medium. The granular quality of the ink evokes that of true bister (see also Figure 25). Photograph: Marjorie Shelley



17. Infrared reflectogram of Figure 2. The darker lines are the freely applied black chalk underdrawing. Compare with Figures 23 and 24. Infrared reflectogram: Akiko Yamazaki-Kleps, Charlotte Hale, Isabelle Duvernois, Alison Gilcrest

visible, such as in the feet (Figure 16), they are of medium darkness, but under the dense layers of brown wash, as in the face, they are largely obscured—a weaving of the line in and out of darkness that is characteristic of his draftsmanship. A sense of the fluidity of the stroke in this preparatory layer is made evident with infrared reflectography (Figure 17). Further evidence of a hand that is quick and light is seen under magnification in the particles of black chalk that sit on the surface of the paper, becoming more dispersed as the lines terminate (Figure 18).

The Baker drawing is quite different in its technique. Although the pencil line defining the open book is the only indication of a preparatory phase that is visible to the unaided eye, examination under magnification reveals that graphite is present throughout this sheet. The lifeless marks following the contours or designating minute details—for example the heavy touches underlying and outlining the facial features, the three brushstrokes at the lower closure of the shirt (Figures 19, 20), and the shoes—bear no resemblance to the spirited underdrawing in the true *Sultan*. The rich, animated draftsmanship in autograph drawings by Fragonard are absent in the Baker *Sultan*, in which the strokes exhibit no variation in the pressure of application, in their width, or in the density of the graphite. Rather than sitting on the paper like the particles of chalk in the Curran *Sultan*, the graphite particles are flat and transparent, have little texture, and are firmly impressed into the support (Figure 21). In addition, many of these marks have been deliberately reduced or removed by abrasion, indicating that the copyist failed to understand the role of the preliminary design in the creative process. Evidence of such cor-



18. Photomicrograph of black chalk in the turban at the upper right in Figure 2. The broken, reticulated texture is characteristic of black chalk that has been lightly and rapidly stroked across paper. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley



19. Enlarged detail of the face in Figure 1, showing the graphite underdrawing in the facial features closely followed by brushstrokes and localized controlled layering of the ink. Note the correction of the underdrawing by abrasion above the nostril. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley

rection appears in many places: in the scraped area beneath the cummerbund (Figure 22), above the nostril, and in the shirt closing (see Figures 19, 20). Under infrared illumination (Figures 23, 24) it is evident that graphite mechanically defines each detail of the composition, revealing a lack of rapidity in the handling. Although Fragonard has been correctly described as repeating himself exactly, his mastery



21. Photomicrograph (16x) of a detail of Figure 1, showing gummed ink and the graphite underdrawing firmly impressed into the paper with uniform pressure, resulting in little tonal or textural variation. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley



20. Enlarged detail (magnification 5.6x) of the lower closure of the shirt in Figure 1, showing partially effaced graphite underdrawing designating the site of the three ink brushstrokes. In the original drawing (Figure 2) this is rendered in one stroke without underdrawing. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley

requiring “only notations for the underdrawing,”⁹ as an adroit draftsman of great bravura he is unlikely to have reworked his lines in this laborious manner in duplicating his own drawing. These preparatory graphite lines are more convincing as elements of a copy, in which they were used as markers for the precise and predetermined placement of washes, than of an original drawing, in which they would be integrated with the washes and give volume to the forms.

It is the ink washes, however, that first lead one to question the authorship of these compositions. This crucial component was thus examined to compare the the washes’



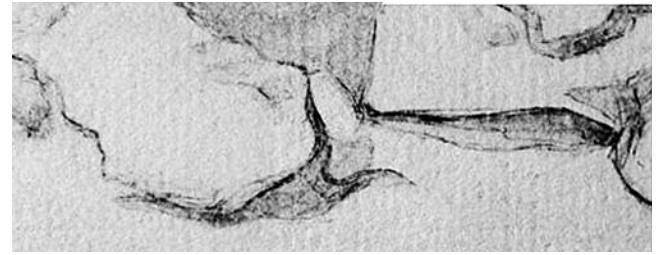
22. Photomicrograph (16x) of a detail of Figure 1, showing the abraded area beneath the cummerbund in which the preliminary drawing has been effaced by scraping. See Figures 17 and 18. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley



23. Infrared reflectogram of the face in Figure 1, showing the copyist's extensive preliminary drawing. Infrared reflectogram: Akiko Yamazaki-Kleps, Charlotte Hale, Isabelle Duvernois, Alison Gilchrest

color, constituents, luster, and texture. Although changes have occurred in the washes in each drawing since the time of execution, a great deal of information can be gathered from their present state. The inks are of a different color, but both are evocative of bister. The ink on the Curran sheet is a highly transparent grayish brown hue and has the matte texture characteristic of most of Fragonard's drawings (see Figures 16, 28). The ink on the Baker *Sultan* is a pale, mustardy, raw umber color, and close examination shows it to be fairly heavily gummed, which has caused it to develop a craquelure in some sites (see Figure 21). The colors of the ink on both sheets fall within the range of tones encountered in Fragonard's corpus of drawings, and therefore, as expected and as was confirmed by X-ray fluorescence, they are of two distinct formulations. The Baker ink contains sulfur, potassium, and calcium; the Curran ink contains iron, sulfur, silica, and potassium, the latter in a lesser amount than in the Baker ink.

Although the presence of potassium often signals bister, neither the Curran nor the Baker ink can be specifically identified with it, or with a particular time frame, as these constituents could be the components of common inks produced in the eighteenth, the nineteenth, or even the twentieth century. Nonetheless, analysis of the techniques of applying the ink again separates the distinctive spark of Fragonard from the painstaking work of the copyist. Foremost



24. Infrared reflectogram of the sitter's right shoe in Figure 1. The underdrawing served the copyist as an outline, not as the preliminary conception of the ink drawing as it does in the original (Figure 2). Infrared reflectogram: Akiko Yamazaki-Kleps, Charlotte Hale, Isabelle Duvernois, Alison Gilchrest

in this assessment is the resemblance of each ink to bister. Composed simply of tarry soot collected from chimneys, combined with water and a gum, bister was highly prized for its sonorous range of brown tones with casts of green, yellow, or red, the hue dependent upon the type of wood burned and the location in the chimney from which the soot was collected. But because bister was notoriously difficult to use, imitations were commonplace, and substances such as tobacco juice, Spanish licorice, humic pigments (Van Dyke brown, Cassel and Cologne earths), and various inorganic earths were thus often recommended instead.¹⁰ Another of bister's failings was the minute dark particulate matter that remained in the ink even after filtering. This tell-tale sign of true bister (Figure 25) seems at first glance to be evident in the Curran sheet, but further inspection reveals that the granular sediment, which is present only in the dark passages, is not a constituent of the ink but rather is composed of the black chalk particles of the underdrawing that have been swept up into the fluid, diffuse washes (Figure 26, and see also Figures 16, 28). This delicate, reticulated pool of dark brown ink reveals Fragonard's remarkable ability to effortlessly integrate and unify these two disparate materials and thereby produce simple washes of textural variety and tonal depth.

These minute specks are absent in the ink in the Baker drawing. The ink closely follows the graphite underdrawing,



25. Sample of bister prepared from hickory wood. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley



26. Photomicrograph (20x) of Figure 2, showing the merging of the black chalk particles with the ink washes. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley



27. Photomicrograph (20x) of Figure 1, showing the highly controlled layered ink washes that do not incorporate the graphite. Photograph: Marjorie Shelley

but there is no comingling of the two media. This may be explained by the resistance of graphite to spreading under the action of brush and washes unless it is very heavily applied. Here, because the underdrawing has been extensively effaced, leaving very little graphite, such interaction is further limited. Throughout the Baker sheet the washes are clear, hard-edged, and generally uniform in consistency.

Their tonal variation is produced by precisely controlled, localized layering, not by their having taken up any particles in their wake (Figure 27). In the dense passages (e.g., between the feet, in the shadow at the far left, on the turban) and in the darkest strokes, however, the copyist attempted to imitate the bisterlike ink of the authentic drawing (Figure 28) by varying the texture and tone of the medium, tamping



28. Enlarged detail of the right side of the turban and the face in Figure 2, showing the artist's characteristic rapid, diffuse washes and the granular quality of the ink



29. Enlarged detail of the right side of the turban and the face in Figure 1, showing the copyist's relatively dense, hard-edged layered washes of uniform consistency

it with a brush or small sponge to create subtle alterations in transparency and dabs of light and dark (Figure 29).

The effect of time and exposure to light on the ink washes also reveals differences between the two compositions. The fading of the Curran sheet has sadly altered the intention of the artist, yellowing and thus diminishing the luminosity of the underlying white paper. Because this has compromised the middle tones (the thin washes that are most vulnerable to fading, such as the now colorless shadows of the caftan), the contrast between dark passages and the light paper reserve has been increased. Despite these changes it is evident that Fragonard originally developed the tonal transitions in this drawing by using a single brown wash that was varied in intensity by dilution or layering, by incorporating the underlying chalk particles, and by leaving areas of bare paper for the highlights.

Without question, the copyist had the ability to transcribe the placement of the washes in the original drawing, but his discrete strokes lack the fluidity of the authentic drawing because of the greater control he required to accurately imitate the model. Less altered than those in the original, the light-colored washes are nevertheless extremely pale and in some places almost invisible because they are close to the hue of the paper, which, atypically, remains relatively bright in comparison to the faded brushwork. Also, in the Baker sheet the loss of the middle tones emphasizes the hard, mechanical quality of the forms. It is conceivable, however, that the fading is not entirely an act of nature but was part of the imitator's plan. The Baker drawing may well have been copied from Fragonard's *Seated Turk* once it had faded and may thus have been purposely rendered in pale tones

to duplicate the appearance of the original. In that the authentic drawing is known to have been framed under glass in the late eighteenth century and thus presumably exposed to light, its subsequent condition would have left little to the imagination of the copyist when this rendition was made.¹¹

We can only speculate as to exactly how this drawing was executed. Alexandre Ananoff (a Fragonard expert and author of the catalogue raisonnée of his drawings published in 1961–70) claimed, without offering definitive proof, that the artist himself made copies of his drawings by tracing *à la vitre* (using a sheet of glass and a light source) or with a pantograph, a mechanical aid for making scaled or exact copies, but this depiction must have entailed other procedures.¹² It is indeed possible, as Stein writes, that the copyist had the lithograph that Vivant Denon (1747–1825; see Figure 3) made of *A Seated Turk* at his disposal to serve as a one-to-one model for the contours, as the two are identical in their taut draftsmanship.¹³ Yet the disposition of the washes in the Baker *Sultan*, the imitation of the subtle textural effects, and their rendering in tonal values that are comparable to the original composition suggest that he had firsthand knowledge of the authentic drawing, as these features are not readily copied from a black-and-white source. Regrettably there are no traces of the transfer or copying process, such as incised lines or a chalked verso. We can, nevertheless, be certain that in the final assessment no matter what means were employed for this “forgery of exceptional skill,” on close inspection it fails on all counts in its draftsmanship and, no less, in the paper on which it was rendered.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge Silvia A. Centeno, research scientist at the Metropolitan, for Raman examination of the underdrawing materials and for X-ray fluorescence analysis of the inks. For infrared reflectography I thank Akiko Yamazaki-Kleps, Isabelle Duvernois, and Alison Gilchrest. My thanks go also to Samantha Hallman for her invaluable library assistance.

NOTES

1. Summarized in Norman 1978a and 1978b.
2. Norman 1978a.
3. Rosenberg 2000, pp. 132, 136, 137, figs. 175, 177.
4. The lack of legibility of the watermark results from the sheet having been irregularly skinned on the verso, apparently in the process of a backing removal.
5. An English patent was issued on January 11, 1825, to John and Christopher Phipps for the original “dandy roll” for watermarking paper (Hunter 1967, p. 541). It was not constructed until 1826, by John Marshall of London (see www.motherbedford.com/watermarks/Watermark1B8.htm).
6. Because “black chalk” can vary in structure, a comparison of the Raman spectra of reference samples with those of our material is inconclusive. The spectra of our sample are, however, distinctly different from those of graphite (which often resembles black chalk in color and texture), indicating that the Curran drawing was not executed in graphite.
7. A patent, a “brevet d’invention de 10 ans,” was issued to Nicholas-Jacques Conté on January 2, 1795, for Conté Crayons Artificiel by the Institut National de la Propriété Industrielle, Paris.
8. The graphite used in the Baker *Sultan* was compared to that in other graphite drawings by Fragonard and to reference samples of both pure Borrowdale graphite and modern number 2 composite graphite pencils.
9. Williams 1978, p. 122.
10. Among the references to the problems in using bister are Dossie 1758 and Bryant [1808], which describes the virtues of a new type of bister.
11. See Stein’s article in this issue, page 128, note 17.
12. Norman (1978b) reports that Ananoff repeated his claims regarding Fragonard’s use of the tracing technique and the pantograph for changing scale in articles in *Connaissance des arts* (1956), *Jardin des arts* (1957), and *La vitrine* (1960) and in the introduction

to volume I of his catalogue raisonné (1961). According to Norman, Ananoff was an editor at Larousse from the 1930s to the 1950s and also had “a strong amateur interest in rocket propulsion and space travel. . . . M. Ananoff was self-taught as a scientist and as an art historian.” She implies that he may have profited from selling copies of Fragonard drawings that he had published in his catalogue as autograph. Ananoff replied to her accusation in a letter to the editor of the London *Times* on April 25, 1978.

13. The lithograph was issued prior to the availability of the type of paper used by the copyist, dismissing the possibility that the Baker drawing was by the same artist who executed the print.

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Peregrinations of a *Lit à la Duchesse en Impériale* by Georges Jacob

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Since the reopening of the Metropolitan Museum's Wrightsman Galleries for French Decorative Arts, a magnificent tester bed has occupied a prominent position in one of the period rooms. This space has now been transformed into a late eighteenth-century bedchamber, with *boiserie* from the Hôtel de Lauzun, Paris (Figures 1–4).¹ The bed, whose headboard is designed to be placed along the wall and which is surmounted by a full-size canopy, or *ciel*, that is suspended from the ceiling rather than supported on columns, is known as a *lit à la duchesse*.² Since the rectangular tester (canopy) of this particular bed is fitted with an interior dome, it is called in French a *lit à la duchesse en impériale*.³

The carved, painted, and gilded frame of the Metropolitan's bed is composed of a headboard and two half posts at the foot that are connected by rails. Displaying splendid carving, the headboard is surmounted by a gilded urn filled with naturalistic flowers (Figure 2). Floral garlands tied with a rippling ribbon to the ring-shaped handles of the vase are draped over the top rail. The frieze below is carved in the center with interlaced wreaths of berried ivy and flowers fastened with a ribbon, with acanthus scrolls at either side. Two fluted pilasters, each crowned by an Ionic capital, flank this headboard and are topped by finials in the shape of remarkably realistic pinecones. The molded rails are decorated with husk motifs, and the two round and partly fluted posts are placed above short top-shaped and spirally fluted feet at the foot of the bed. The posts have vase-shaped finials resting on Corinthian volutes, which form the capitals. The tester is fitted with an elliptical dome. The exterior cornice of the dome, carved with acanthus leaves, rope, and guilloche motifs, is surmounted on three sides with voluptuous rose wreaths, tied ribbon bows, and crossed branches of oak and laurel leaves. At the foot, these leaf sprays are combined with poppies, traditional symbols of sleep and thus fitting imagery for the decoration of a bed (Figure 3).⁴ The triangular corners sur-

rounding the dome are decorated on the inside with quivers of arrows and sprays of myrtle and laurel leaves (Figure 4).

The Museum's *lit à la duchesse* displays remarkable similarities to another bedstead, sold from the collection of an American society figure, Mrs. Harrison Williams, later Comtesse Mona Bismarck (1897–1983) (Figures 5, 6).⁵ The frames of the two beds particularly resemble each other in the carving of their headboards and in their use of short columnar posts and low rails. The Bismarck bed is believed to have been commissioned by Frédéric III, prince de Salm-Kyrbourg (1745–1794), in the 1780s, about the time he constructed a magnificent residence, the Hôtel de Salm, along the left bank of the Seine. Its architect, Pierre Rousseau (1751–1810), also oversaw the interior decoration, employing such well-known artists as the sculptors Philippe-Laurent Roland (1746–1816) and Jean-Guillaume Moitte (1746–1810).⁶ The splendid mansion, which today houses the Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, was finally ready in 1788. A drawing for the prince's bedroom attributed to Pierre Rousseau shows an alcove with a magnificent *lit à la duchesse*, which is very possibly the Bismarck bed (Figure 7).⁷ According to the 1795 inventory drawn up after the prince de Salm-Kyrbourg's death by guillotine during the Reign of Terror, the walls of his bedchamber were lined with blue taffeta, which was also used for the bed hangings, seat furniture, and curtains in the room.⁸

Unlike the prince de Salm-Kyrbourg's bed, the New York *lit à la duchesse* was originally furnished with tapestry hangings. It entered the Metropolitan Museum's collections in 1923 as a gift of the financier Kingdon Gould (1887–1945), who donated the imposing piece of furniture in memory of his late mother, Edith Kingdon Gould (1864–1921). At that time Gould wrote to the Museum's president, Robert W. de Forest (1848–1931), that he had always understood that it once belonged to Marie-Antoinette.⁹ Since the bed had been part of the famous collection of the tenth Duke of Hamilton—which included among its treasures various pieces that had been in the possession of the unfortunate French queen—a royal provenance was certainly not

1. Georges Jacob (French, 1739–1814). Domed tester bed (*lit à la duchesse en impériale*), ca. 1782–83. Carved and gilded walnut, pine, and lindenwood; iron, modern silk damask; dome lined with tapestry of silk and wool woven at the Beauvais Manufacture; headboard 79 x 73½ in. (200.7 x 186.7 cm), d. of bedstead 86¾ in. (220.4 cm), tester 84½ x 96¾ in. (214.6 x 245.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Kingdon Gould, in memory of his mother, Edith Kingdon Gould, 1923 (23.235)





inconceivable.¹⁰ In his recommendation to accept this generous gift, the curator Joseph Breck (1885–1933) toned down the alleged provenance, however, and stated that the bed “was undoubtedly made for some great personage.” No date or name of a furniture maker was given at the time, nor did Breck say anything about the manufacture of the “exquisite” tapestry hangings.¹¹ Given the fact that the Museum’s holdings were not rich in furniture of the Louis XVI period

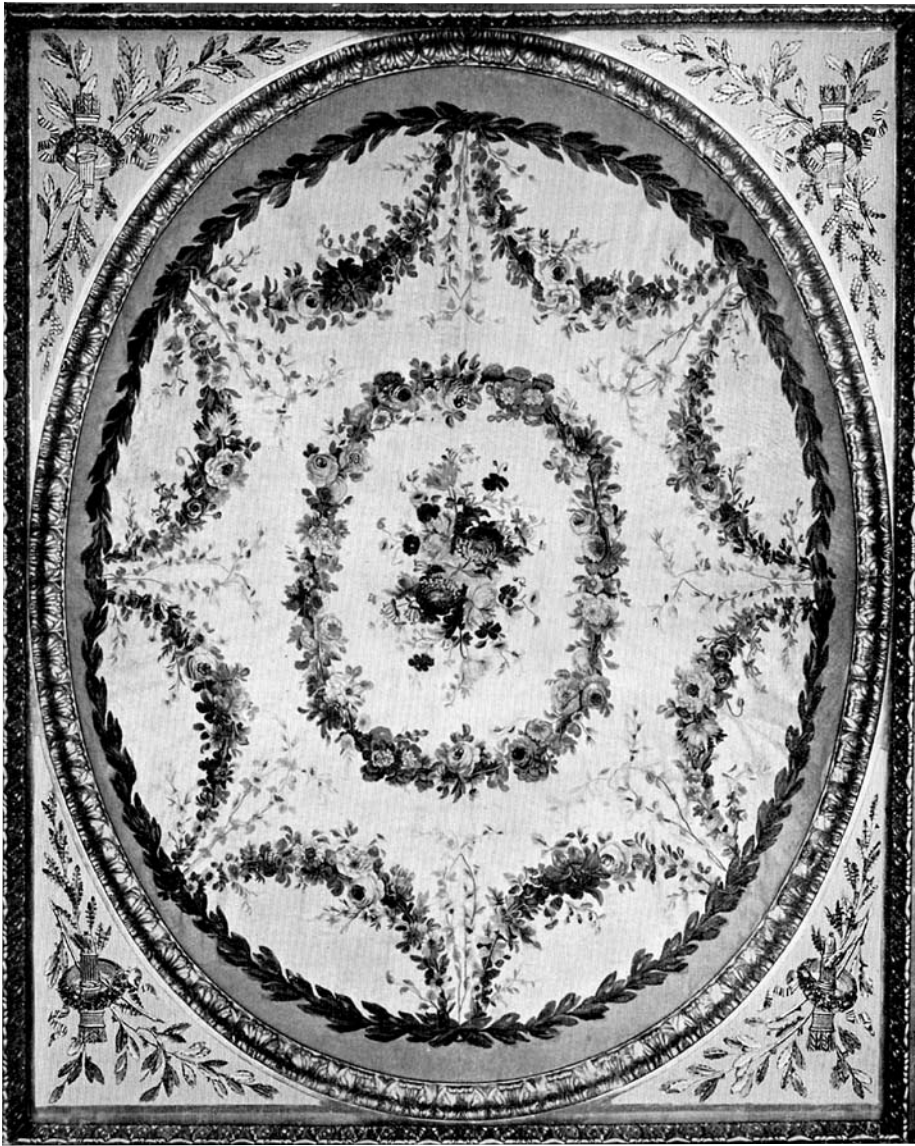
in 1923, the bed was certainly a welcome addition to the collection.¹²

Shortly after its acquisition, the bed was put on display in the Pierpont Morgan Wing (Figure 8), where the French decorative arts galleries were housed at the time, and became the subject of a note in the Museum’s *Bulletin* of 1924. In this piece, written by the assistant curator Preston Remington (d. 1958), the bed was dated about 1780.¹³ When the *lit à la*

2. Detail of the headboard of the tester bed shown in Figure 1



3. Cornice detail of the tester bed shown in Figure 1



4. Interior of the dome of the tester bed shown in Figure 1

duchesse was transferred with the rest of the European decorative-arts collections to newly renovated galleries in a different part of the Museum (Figure 9), Remington described it as “an impressive canopied state bed of the Louis XVI period.” He also mentioned the signature of Georges Jacob (1739–1814), one of the most successful *menuisiers*, or joiners, of the Ancien Régime whose career straddled the French Revolution.¹⁴ Calling him “a cabinetmaker whose signature is synonymous with the highest standards of eighteenth-century French craftsmanship,” Remington remarked that the “beautiful gilt carving is enhanced by the delicate colors of the Beauvais tapestry hangings.”¹⁵ This rare piece remained on view until the 1960s, when the French decorative arts galleries were expanded and underwent further changes with the support of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman. During these alterations the bed was dismantled and put in storage, where it was to remain for nearly half a century. The *lit à la duchesse* was not forgotten, however, and

was included in several publications. In 1966, for instance, Pierre Verlet wrote that the tapestry hangings were woven about 1780–90 at the Beauvais manufactory (established north of Paris in 1664).¹⁶ Verlet identified them as being in the style of Henri Salembier (ca. 1753–1820) or Jean-Baptiste Huet (1745–1811)—an opinion later echoed by Edith Appleton Standen, who also noted that some of the textile elements did not belong to the same set as the others.¹⁷ The conservation treatment of the gilded bed frame and tester was a major project undertaken during the recent renovation of the Wrightsman Galleries.¹⁸ The tapestries, deemed too fragile to be reused, were replaced with modern silk damask hangings before the bed’s triumphant reinstallation in the fall of 2007.

A variety of sources document the history of the *lit à la duchesse*, which was fashionable in France for most of the eighteenth century. Examples with flat canopies appear to have been more numerous than those *à l’imperiale*. In his *Dictionnaire du tapissier* (1878–80), Jules Deville even claimed that the beds with domed testers listed in the inventories of the Garde Meuble de la Couronne (the warehouse for French royal furniture) were always destined for use by the king or by princes of the blood.¹⁹ Indeed, in 1718 the young Louis XV received a domed *lit à la duchesse* hung with yellow damask, enriched with silver galloon and embroidery; the official bedrooms of Marie-Antoinette, at the château of Fontainebleau, and of Louis XVI, at the château of Versailles, were furnished with similar domed state beds.²⁰ Consisting of frames decorated with elaborate gilt-wood carving and hung with sumptuous textiles, these royal pieces were surely as magnificent as they were costly.²¹

Without the supporting columns (and hence without curtains at the foot end), the *lit à la duchesse* has greater openness than a four-poster bed, making it particularly suitable for placement in a formal or ceremonial bedchamber, part of the so-called *appartement de parade* found at the court or in the homes of members of the upper aristocracy. Such state rooms served as official chambers suitable to receive the king and other important guests.²² In rooms where guests would be admitted to pay official calls or congratulatory visits to its owner, the state bed functioned as more than a comfortable piece of furniture for reposing or sleeping,²³ forming an ostentatious setting for established rituals. The practice of receiving in bed, unusual to us today, was an established social convention by the eighteenth century. Reporting the latest court gossip, the witty correspondent Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné (1626–1696), for instance, shared the news with her daughter on April 6, 1680, that a new beauty, Mlle de Fontanges, had managed to pique the interest of Louis XIV. As a result she had “been made a Duchess with a 20,000-écus-a-year pension; she accepted congratulations yesterday, lying on her

bed. The King paid her an official visit."²⁴ In the course of the eighteenth century, men used such state bedchambers less often to receive their guests than did women, who continued the custom longer. According to the architect and theorist Jacques-François Blondel (1705–1774), the "*chambre de parade* [formal bedchamber] was inhabited by preference by the mistress of the house when she is indisposed; she receives ceremonial visits and uses it for her *toilette* for special distinction. . . ."²⁵ During her sojourn in Paris, Elizabeth, Duchess of Northumberland (1716–1776), commented in her diary on the wedding of the duc de Chartres (the future Philippe-Égalité) to Louise-Marie-Adélaïde, Mlle de Penthièvre, in 1769. According to the diarist, on the day following the marriage the new duchesse de Chartres "received all the Company lying down upon a Bed," to which the author added, "this it seems is the Etiquette, & in my opinion a very odd one."²⁶

The use of formal beds such as the *lit à la duchesse* is well documented, then, but what is the particular history of the Metropolitan's bed? One clue is the barely legible stamp of Georges Jacob on the base of its headboard. Serving a royal and international aristocratic clientele and working in a refined Neoclassical style, Jacob is known to have made a number of spectacular state beds such as the one for Duke Karl August von Zweibrücken in 1781–82.²⁷ The bed that was formerly in the collection of Comtesse Mona Bismarck (see Figures 5, 6) also very likely comes from his atelier, but that question requires further research.

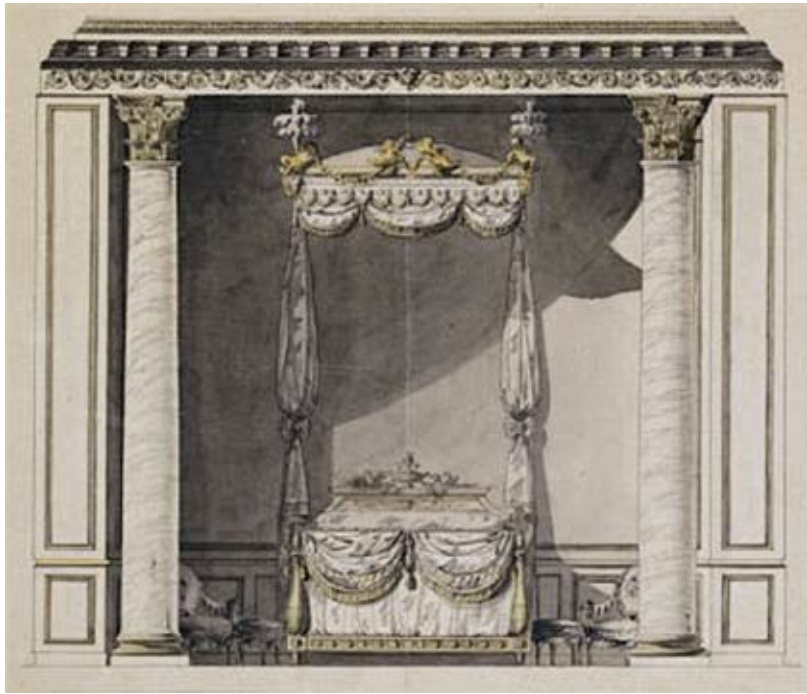
Until 1791 Jacob's workshop produced only seat furniture, bed frames, and a few console tables. This range would expand, however, after the Revolution, when, once the medieval guild system had been abolished, the *menuisiers* could also work with veneers and make case furniture, traditionally the specialty of the *ébénistes*, or cabinetmakers. They also started to produce gilt-bronze mounts, originally the exclusive domain of the metalworkers, the *fondeurs-ciseleurs* (caster-chasers), and *ciseleurs-doreurs* (chaser-gilders). As a joiner, Jacob would have been responsible for providing and cutting the wood, here a combination of walnut, pine, and linden, and for carving only the simplest of moldings. The execution of the flowers, foliated branches, and other exquisitely carved details that embellish the tester, decorate the frame, and crown the headboard was left to an unknown but obviously very talented sculptor. A specialized craftsman, the gilder, prepared the various wooden parts before applying the gold leaf on preparatory layers of gesso and bole (pulverized clay providing a warm reddish color to the gold). In this case the craftsman used water-gilding, which could be burnished to achieve a highly glossy surface but could also be left matte to create subtle areas of contrast. Like the identity of the sculptor, the names of the gilder and the upholsterer (the latter responsible for



5. Attributed to Georges Jacob. Bed with half tester, ca. 1788. Carved and gilded wood, hung with modern silk, 72½ x 91⅜ x 68½ in. (184 x 232 x 174 cm). Current location unknown. Photograph courtesy of Sotheby's, Monaco



6. Detail of the headboard of the tester bed shown in Figure 5



7. Attributed to Pierre Rousseau (French, 1751–1810). *Bedchamber of Prince de Salm-Kyrbourg*, ca. 1788. Wash and watercolor, 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (25 x 29 cm). Musée de la Légion d'Honneur, Paris

the original bedding, the under-upholstery, and the attachment of the textiles) remain unknown. In fact, many facets of the history of this late eighteenth-century bed were until recently a mystery. The decision to use this important piece as the focal point in the de Lauzun Room was the catalyst, however, not only for a major conservation campaign but for new research as well.²⁸

Given the stylistic characteristics of its frame and the design of its original tapestry hangings, both firmly adhering

to a Neoclassical vocabulary, the Museum's bed had justifiably been dated to the 1780s by Preston Remington. The off-white tapestry weavings with strings of laurel leaves, floral swags, and arabesques were identified as products of the Beauvais workshops (Figure 10), and this attribution has been supported and confirmed by recent research. Enjoying royal protection, the manufactory was run as a private enterprise and was known for its low-warp tapestries commissioned by French and foreign clients alike. Specializing in fine sets of narrative and decorative hangings woven after designs by Jean I Berain (1637–1711), Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686–1755), and François Boucher (1703–1770), among other artists, the workshops also produced matching tapestry covers for seat furniture, which came increasingly into fashion during the eighteenth century.²⁹ Fortunately, a detailed account book listing the orders executed in the Beauvais workshops during the 1780s has been preserved.³⁰ Sets of tapestries, upholstery for chairs and settees, and window valances make up most of the orders, but only two complete sets of bed hangings were woven in the period between 1776 and 1790, indicating how rare tapestry beds must have been.³¹ The first commission, for which the weavers were paid between August 1782 and November 1783, was ordered en suite with a set of wall hangings “à dessein plein arabesque à effet de draperie bleu” (with large arabesque design and blue draperies). This *garniture* consisted of a counterpane, a bolster, three lower valances, six upper valances, two side curtains, the lining for a dome, a back panel, and a headboard cover.³² In addition, matching upholstery was woven for two *bergères* and eight armchairs.³³ In 1785 the weavers started on a second set of bed

8. Domed tester bed shown in Figure 1 installed in the Morgan Wing at the Metropolitan Museum in 1924



9. Domed tester bed shown in Figure 1 installed in the French Decorative Arts Galleries at the Metropolitan Museum in 1954



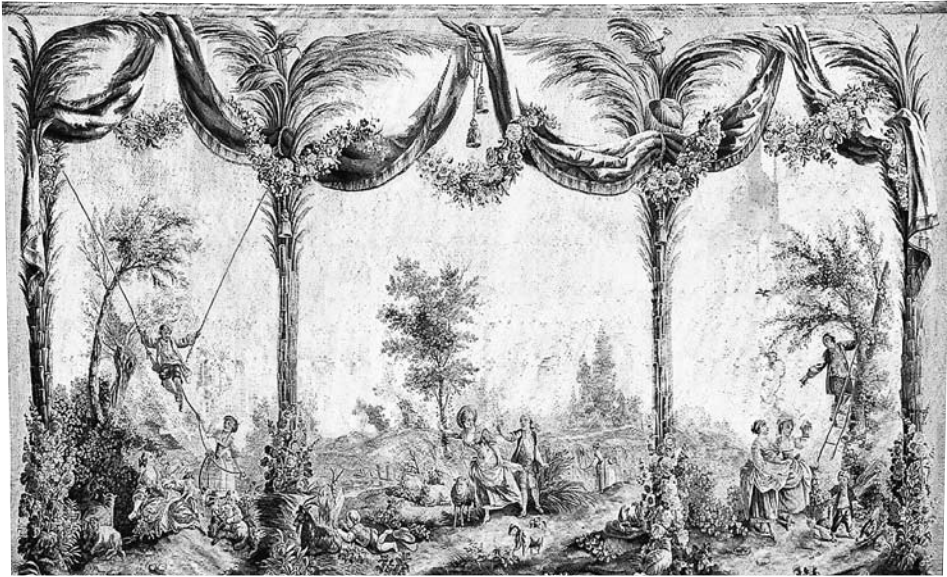


10. Jean-Baptiste Huet (French, 1745–1811), designer. Coverlet (left) and head cloth (right) belonging to the domed tester bed shown in Figure 1. Woven at Beauvais, 1782–83, under the direction of Menou (French, fl. 1780–93). Silk and wool; coverlet 7 ft. 1 in. x 5 ft. 5 in. (2.2 x 1.5 m), head cloth 8 ft. 3 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. x 6 ft. (2.5 x 1.8 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Kingdon Gould, in memory of his mother, Edith Kingdon Gould, 1923 (23.235b, c)

hangings, comprising the same elements as the first set but including four (rather than two) side curtains and seven (instead of six) upper valances. The decoration was described not only as Russian draperies but also as arabesque design.³⁴ Unfortunately, neither entry indicates who commissioned the hangings, but in view of the two linings for a dome, it is evident that both sets were intended for domed tester beds.

Ultrafashionable during the Neoclassical era, arabesques and grotesques (the latter also including human figures) were lighthearted and fanciful types of decoration composed of small, loosely connected motifs. Derived from classical Roman surface decoration, this type of ornament was first revived during the Renaissance and became especially well known after Raphael used it for the embellishment of the Vatican Loggia in 1518–19.³⁵ It was considered to be “an inexhaustible source to decorate the interior and exterior of modern buildings, furniture, and even clothes in a beautiful style,” according to the painter Charles-Louis

Clérisseau (1721–1820) in 1779.³⁶ In the following year Jean-Baptiste Huet supplied the Beauvais manufactory with designs for a series of ten hangings recorded as Pastorals with Blue Draperies and Arabesques, one of which, *The Swing, the Harvest, and Cherry Picking*, is in the Metropolitan’s collection (Figure 11).³⁷ Whereas the bucolic figural scenes of the Pastorals with Blue Draperies and Arabesques clearly qualify as pastorals, the arabesque or grotesque aspect of *The Swing, the Harvest, and Cherry Picking* and others in the series is less obvious. Perhaps the whimsical palm trees festooned with draperies and garlands of flowers could be interpreted as such. Other tapestries of a more patently arabesque design, complete with blue draperies near the top, were also created in the Beauvais workshops, however, and may likewise have been based on designs by Huet.³⁸ It is possible, then, that the earlier set of bed hangings recorded in the Beauvais account book was commissioned en suite with tapestries of a more clearly arabesque design, and that Huet provided the compositions for both. The back panel



11. Jean-Baptiste Huet, designer. *The Swing, the Harvest, and Cherry Picking*. Tapestry from a set of ten Pastorals with Blue Draperies and Arabesques. Designed ca. 1780 and woven at Beauvais, 1782–90, under the direction of Menou. Wool and silk, 11 ft. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. x 19 ft. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (3.6 x 5.9 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Byron C. Foy, 1953 (53.211)

for the Museum's *lit à la duchesse* (see Figure 10) has a design similar to those of the overtly arabesque tapestries, lending support to a link between the bed and the earlier Beauvais commission (further evidence for this link will be discussed later). In fact, in 1795 citizen Menou, who had served as the director of the Beauvais manufactory from 1780 to 1793, offered up for sale to the Commission d'Agriculture et des Arts a series of paintings that had been used for the weaving of tapestries—including designs for a complete so-called *lit à la duchesse* painted by Huet with flowers and draperies and valued at 2,400 *livres*.³⁹

As for the second set of bed hangings woven at the Beauvais manufactory, one can only wonder what Russian draperies may have looked like. Russian themes were clearly in demand; thirteen sets of tapestries, the so-called Russian Entertainments, were woven at Beauvais between 1769 and 1793. Displaying charming rural scenes that have little to do with Russia per se, these hangings were based on compositions by the painter Jean-Baptiste Le Prince (1734–1781), who had traveled extensively in northern Europe and worked for Catherine the Great in Saint Petersburg between 1758 and 1762.⁴⁰

Very few tapestry beds are known from contemporary descriptions, suggesting that only a limited number were ever created. Of the three examples documented, two were draped with Gobelins, not Beauvais, tapestries, and do not clearly correspond to the Metropolitan's bed. According to the 1779 inventory of the Palais de Bourbon, the alcove in the bedchamber or pink room of Bathilde d'Orléans (1750–

1822), duchesse de Bourbon and a cousin of the king, was hung during the winter with Gobelins tapestries.⁴¹ With medallions containing scenes after François Boucher's *The Story of Psyche*, and richly embellished with floral garlands against a crimson damask patterned ground, these highly decorative tapestries were woven about 1770 in the workshop directed by Jacques Neilson (1714–1788).⁴² The elaborately carved and gilded bed, described as a bed with a triple dome that incorporated the monogram of the duchess on its headboard, was furnished with matching tapestry hangings and crimson damask curtains.⁴³ The large number of chairs in the room included a set of twelve armchairs and two *bergères* mounted with similar tapestry covers.⁴⁴ To judge from the surviving hangings, now in the Louvre, Paris,⁴⁵ the overall effect must have been colorful and sumptuous, similar to that of the tapestry room originally from Croome Court, Worcestershire, now installed in the Metropolitan Museum.⁴⁶

On December 20, 1786, the wealthy court banker and noted collector Nicolas Beaujon (1718–1786) is said to have died in the *chambre de parade* of his Parisian residence, the Hôtel d'Évreux, in a large bed with dome hung with Gobelins tapestries.⁴⁷ Placed in an alcove lined with hangings depicting the story of Rinaldo and Armida, which were woven at the Gobelins workshops after designs by the painter Simon Vouet (1590–1649), the tapestries of the bed itself were decorated with bouquets of flowers and palms.⁴⁸ According to the baronne d'Oberkirch (1754–1803), who visited the Hôtel d'Évreux in June 1782 with the comtesse du Nord, Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna of Russia (1759–1828), Beaujon was a Croesus, envied by all, who nevertheless led a rather painful existence.⁴⁹ The banker entertained in grand style, organizing lavish dinner parties, but because of his failing health, he hardly ate anything himself. Nor could he enjoy the company of his guests but was forced to stay in bed, where he lay awake because of his ailments. His lady friends would surround him trying to soothe him with their songs, stories, and gossip. For this reason they were known as the *berceuses de M. de Beaujon* (literally, Mr. Beaujon's cradle rockers).⁵⁰ Following Beaujon's death, the treasures from his magnificent home were sold at auction. The artist Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun (1755–1842), who painted a portrait of Beaujon, wrote in her *Memoirs* that "no private person, indeed, lived in the midst of so much luxury. Everything was costly and exquisite."⁵¹ Neither the Gobelins tapestries nor the bed were included in the sale, and it is not known what happened to the furnishings of Beaujon's bedchamber.⁵²

A third tapestry bed was listed in the 1791 inventory of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, Paris, drawn up following the death of its owner, Renaud-César-Louis de Choiseul-Chevigny (1735–1791), second duc de Praslin. Evidence points

toward an identification of the Metropolitan's *lit à la duchesse* with this bed. According to the 1791 inventory, the duchesse de Praslin's large room, the so-called summer room, was furnished with four new Beauvais tapestry panels that depicted subjects from Greek history. The bed was also hung with modern Beauvais tapestries showing garlands of flowers, arabesque designs, and draperies on a white ground. The inventory listing gives us a detailed description of the bed:

A large *lit à la duchesse* of which the frame has a headboard with pilasters at the four corners richly carved and gilded, the cornices of the tester decorated with wreaths of flowers and branches also richly carved and gilded, the whole piece furnished with double valances [i.e., inner and outer] and lining of the dome, a large cover for the headboard, and double valance [possibly lower valances], bolster and counterpane of modern Beauvais tapestry with garlands of flowers, arabesque designs and draperies against a white ground, furnished with two large curtains of five widths each by three and a half *aunes* [ca. 412.6 cm] high and two side curtains each of one width of green *quinze seize* [ribbed silk fabric also known as *gros de Tour*] with a short gold fringe all around, with cords and tassels also in fake gold, estimated at 6,000 *livres*.⁵³

This entry clearly describes a domed tester bed with elaborate carvings of floral wreaths and branches on the headboard and tester, very much like the one now in the Metropolitan Museum. It was hung with tapestries that, despite some inconsistencies (for example, no back panel is listed and the *bonnes graces*, or side curtains, in the inventory were of green ribbed silk instead of tapestry), appear to have been very similar to those recorded in the Beauvais ledgers of 1782.⁵⁴ For that reason it is very tempting to assume that both the Beauvais commission for the set of bed hangings as well as the description of the duchesse de Praslin's bed in the 1791 inventory refer to the New York *lit à la duchesse en impériale*.

According to the 1791 Hôtel de Belle-Isle inventory, the room also included two large commodes and two corner cabinets veneered with ebony and mounted with red Chinese lacquer and gilt bronze. The latter, today at the Château de Versailles, have been attributed to Bernard II van Risenburgh or his son Bernard III and dated about 1765 (Figure 12).⁵⁵ With their fluting, rosettes, urn-shaped mounts, and egg-and-dart molding, they are in the so-called Grecian manner, an early expression of the Neoclassical style. The severe classical appearance of the cabinets, nearly two decades earlier in date than the bed, may have been considered suitable to the room's Beauvais tapestries, also



12. Attributed to Bernard II van Risenburgh (French, after 1696–ca. 1765) or his son Bernard III (French, d. 1800). Corner cupboard (*encoignure*), one of a pair, ca. 1765. Oak veneered with ebony and ebonized pearwood, red and gold Chinese lacquer, gilt-bronze mounts, veined white marble top, 36¼ x 32⅞ x 21⅛ in. (92 x 83.6 x 53.5 cm). Château de Versailles

described in the inventory, depicting subjects from Greek history.⁵⁶ These tapestries may be identifiable with a set representing stories from Homer's *Iliad* that was woven after designs by Jean-Baptiste Deshayes (1729–1765).⁵⁷ The room's seat furniture consisted of two large settees and six *fauteuils à chassis*, of carved and gilded wood covered with new Aubusson tapestries depicting animal scenes, and twelve additional *fauteuils en cabriolets*, upholstered with floral Beauvais tapestry covers.⁵⁸ The room boasted two gilt-bronze mantel clocks, the larger one with a movement by Le Paute⁵⁹ and the other fitted with a musical movement by Baillon.⁶⁰ In addition there were two small oval tables decorated with colorful floral marquetry, as well as a gueridon, or candlestand, mounted with a porcelain plaque and a gilt-bronze candelabrum.⁶¹

In 1791, the date of the inventory, the duchesse de Praslin was Guyonne-Marguerite de Durfort de Lorge (1737–1806), married to Renaud-César-Louis de Choiseul-Chevigny since 1754. As a young man, her husband had been in the retinue of the Dauphin and later served as ambassador to Hungary and Naples. Characterized as “a good-tempered polite man without pretensions” by Francis Seymour Conway, second Marquess of Hertford (1743–1822), he became the second duc de Praslin upon the death of his father in 1785.⁶² His father, César-Gabriel, comte de Choiseul-Chevigny (1712–1785), elevated to the rank of duke in 1762, had enjoyed a distinguished military career before turning to political service (Figure 13).⁶³ Following in the footsteps of a distant cousin, the more famous Étienne-François de Choiseul-Stainville (1719–1785), he was appointed ambassador to Vienna in 1758 and served from 1761 to 1766 as foreign



13. Alexandre Roslin (Swedish, 1718–1793). *César-Gabriel de Choiseul-Chevigny, duc de Praslin (1712–1785)*, second half of 18th century. Oil on canvas, 51 1/8 x 37 3/4 in. (130 x 96 cm). National Museum Stockholm

14. Briefcase. Made in Turkey for the French market, 1763. With a lock stamped by Paris goldsmith Jacques Lourdière (French, master 1746–after 1768). Dark red morocco leather embroidered with gold thread and silk, gold lock, lined with green silk; 17 3/4 x 13 1/8 x 2 1/2 in. (45 x 33.3 x 6.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 2001 (2001.653)

15. Back of the briefcase shown in Figure 14. Embroidered with the arms of César-Gabriel de Choiseul-Chevigny, duc de Praslin, within an oval shield surrounded by the collar of the Order of the Saint-Esprit. The banderole above has the words “Ministère des Affaires Étrangères.”

minister of France. In 1763 the statesman, described as cold and disagreeable, signed the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Years War and dealt France disastrous losses.⁶⁴ Coincidentally, a briefcase of red morocco leather embroidered with the arms of the duc de Praslin and a banderole with the words “Ministère des Affaires Étrangères,” most likely made for the occasion of the Treaty of Paris, is in the Metropolitan Museum’s collections (Figures 14, 15).⁶⁵ The duc de Praslin became minister of the navy in 1766, but in 1770, when his cousin fell from favor and was banished to his estate Chanteloup, near Tours, the duke was dismissed as well.

In 1764 the duke purchased the famous Château de Vaux-le-Vicomte, and the following year he acquired, by exchange with the king, a new Parisian residence, the Hôtel de Belle-Isle. Constructed in 1722 between the rue de Bourbon (now rue de Lille) and the quai d’Orsay, this mansion was considered to be among the most beautifully situ-

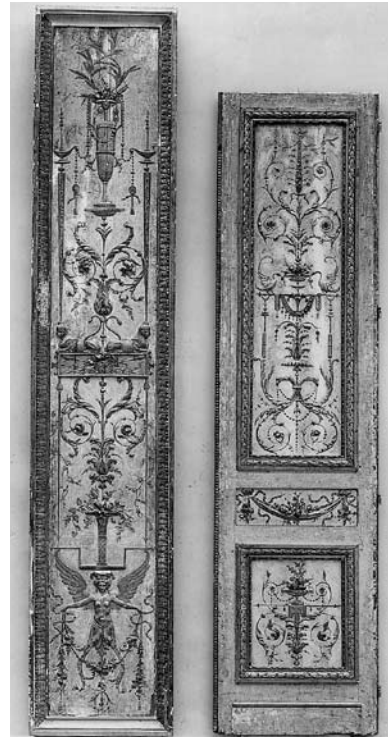


ated in Paris.⁶⁶ Its garden terrace facing the Seine offered views of the Tuileries and Louvre palaces across the river.⁶⁷ The interior decoration of the house under the ownership of the ducs de Praslin was no less magnificent and included a monumental staircase and splendidly paneled rooms. Several carved panels showing arabesque motifs in a refined Neoclassical style, originally in the *grand cabinet* of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, came to the Metropolitan Museum in 1907 as part of the Hoentschel Collection (Figure 16).⁶⁸ This residence also had an *appartement de parade*, which included a formal reception room, the *pièce du dais*, so called because it was furnished with a crimson damask canopy (*dais*), below which a bust of the king was placed. This room gave access to the *chambre de parade*,⁶⁹ the formal bedchamber, which was furnished with Gobelins hangings depicting theatrical scenes, according to the 1785 inventory drawn up following the death of the first duke.⁷⁰ Not surprisingly, given Blondel’s statement (cited above) that the lady of the house would receive ceremonial visits and prepare her toilette for special occasions in such a room, this bedchamber had been used by the first duchesse de Praslin, née Anne-Marie de Champagne-la-Suze (1713–1783). Horace Walpole (1717–1797), a member of Parliament, novelist, and prolific letter writer, called her “jolly, red-faced, looking very vulgar, and being very attentive and civil,” in 1765.⁷¹ Her husband, César-Gabriel, was a bibliophile who also acquired important paintings and splendid furnishings. It is possible, given the 1782–83 date of the Beauvais bed hangings, that he had commissioned them as well, late in life.⁷² The bed and its tapestry hangings could equally have been ordered by his oldest son, who, as was customary in France, lived with his wife in an apartment in the same house as his parents.⁷³ He continued to add to his father’s art collection, making it one of the most admired in the city. Luc-Vincent Thiéry lauded the collection in his *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers* of 1787: “The collection of the duc de Praslin, which is combined with that of



his father, is too well known in all of Europe to need special praise. It includes the most precious collection of paintings of all the schools but especially of the Flemish school of which it brings together the most distinguished objects. . . . Independently of the paintings one finds a choice of the most beautiful Boulle furniture, bronzes and porcelains, as well as marbles and other objects of whatever curiosity."⁷⁴ Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun recalled seeing the collection when she was young: "We used also to pay visits to private collections. . . . The Duke of Praslin and the Marquis de Lévis had rich collections of the great masters of every school. . . . As soon as I set foot inside one of these rich galleries I could be truly compared to a bee, so many were the bits of knowledge and useful remembrances that I gathered for my art while intoxicating myself with delight in the contemplation of the great masters."⁷⁵

The paintings from the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, largely Dutch and Flemish and also comprising French and Italian works, were sold at auction in 1793 during the turmoil of the French Revolution. A number of these masterworks—including Rembrandt's *Holy Family*, now in the Louvre, Paris, and Nicolas Lancret's *Country Dance*, in the Wallace Collection, London—have since enriched public institutions.⁷⁶ Among the furniture offered for sale were various pieces decorated with marquetry of tortoiseshell and brass, a technique perfected by André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732), cabinetmaker to Louis XIV. Some of these pieces may have been made in Boulle's workshop, such as a sarcophagus-shaped commode with gilt-bronze corner mounts in the form of winged female figures, a repetition of the model that was first delivered to the king's bedchamber at the Grand Trianon in 1708–9 (Figure 17).⁷⁷ Others are likely to date to the second half of the eighteenth century, when some of Boulle's pieces were copied and existing marquetry of tortoiseshell and brass was reused to make new furniture. Not included in the sale, however, were the Gobelins and Beauvais tapestries, and certain pieces of furniture such as the tapestry-hung bed—all of which probably remained with members of the family who lived outside Paris from 1792 on.⁷⁸ In fact, early in the nineteenth century, the duchess was forced to sell first one part of the house in the rue de Bourbon and then the rest.⁷⁹ Once the family fortune was restored, in 1803, Antoine-César, third duc de Praslin (1756–1808), a supporter of Napoleon and a member of the Senate, bought and furnished a new Parisian residence, the former Hôtel d'Harcourt in the rue de Grenelle.⁸⁰ The inventory drawn up following his death does not include the *lit à la duchesse*,⁸¹ nor did it appear in the auction of his possessions that took place in 1808.⁸² It is not clear what happened to the tapestry bed during the first French Republic, the Napoleonic Empire, and most of the Bourbon restoration. On July 12, 1830, however, just days before the abdication of Charles X, which was to mark the end of the



16. Panel and door panel formerly in the *grand cabinet* of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, Paris, France, ca. 1770–80. Carved, painted, and gilded oak; 130 x 33½ in. (330.2 x 85 cm) and 148 x 28¾ in. (375.9 x 72.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1906 (07.225.463b, e)

Bourbon reign, the bed surfaced again. According to an invoice of the Grand Bazar, a bed of gilt wood with valance, bolster, and counterpane, together with a settee, ten armchairs, and a screen covered with Gobelins tapestry, was sold for 1,820 francs to a M. Quinet.⁸³ Located at 359, rue Saint-Honoré, Paris, the Grand Bazar advertised on its letterhead the storage and sale (*depôt et vente*) of furniture and all furnishings, art objects, and curiosities. J. E. Quinet (d. 1830), who described himself as the businessman or legal adviser (*homme d'affaires*) to the tenth Duke of Hamilton, acquired the bed for his employer, as is borne

17. Workshop of André-Charles Boulle (French, 1642–1732). Commode, ca. 1710–20. Walnut veneered with ebony, marquetry of engraved brass on tortoiseshell, gilt-bronze mounts, green antique marble top; 34½ x 50½ x 24¾ in. (87.6 x 128.3 x 62.9 cm). A commode of this model was in the collection of the ducs de Praslin and was sold at auction in 1793. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.82)



18. Designed by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (Italian, 1507–1573); top attributed to Giovanni Mynardo (Italian, ca. 1525–1582); piers carved by Guglielmo della Porta (Italian, d. 1577). Table. Rome, ca. 1568–73. Formerly at Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire, Scotland. Marbles of different colors, semiprecious stones, Egyptian alabaster; 37½ x 149¼ x 66¼ in. (95.3 x 379.1 x 168.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1958 (58.57.a–d)



19. Jean-Henri Riesener (French, 1734–1806). Secretary (*secrétaire à abattant*) made for Marie-Antoinette, 1783. Formerly at Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire, Scotland. Oak veneered with ebony and Japanese lacquer; interior veneered with tulipwood, amaranth, holly, and ebonized holly; gilt-bronze mounts; red velvet; marble top; 57 x 43 x 16 in. (144.8 x 109.2 x 40.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of William K. Vanderbilt, 1920 (20.155.11)

out by another invoice.⁸⁴ The bill of the crater and packer Chenue, at 28, rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, Paris, also supports an identification with the Museum's bed. Dated July 15, 1830, and addressed to "Monseigneur Le Duc d'Hamilton," the Chenue bill charged the duke for the making of "a crate for the gilt-wood frame of a bed consisting of two headboards; two valances; three large sculpted parts belonging to the tester; and the tester, inside which [were] fourteen pieces of tapestry hangings, back panel, counterpane and bolster, two silk curtains."⁸⁵

Alexander Hamilton Douglas, tenth Duke of Hamilton and seventh Duke of Brandon (1767–1852), is said to have had a predilection "towards sumptuous building and art collecting. . . [M]oreover, he had a very high opinion of his importance. He firmly believed that as the descendant of the regent of Arran he was the true heir to the throne of Scotland."⁸⁶ It is therefore fitting that the tenth duke was in the process of transforming the largely early eighteenth-century family seat in South Lanarkshire, Scotland, into a veritable palace. He even commissioned designs by Charles Percier (1764–1838) and Pierre Fontaine (1762–1853), the authors of the *Recueil de décorations intérieures* of 1812 who had been employed by Napoleon and Josephine.⁸⁷ None of these designs were ever executed, however, because ultimately the London designer and cabinetmaker Robert Hume (active 1808–40) took control of the palace's interior decoration. To furnish Hamilton Palace in style, the duke collected on a grand scale, acquiring marble columns, vases, classical busts, and tabletops in Italy through various agents and dealers.⁸⁸ A marvelous example of his taste for splendor and colored marbles was the purchase of the

so-called Farnese table, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 18).⁸⁹ Commissioned by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589) and dating to about 1568–73, the *pietre dure* top has been attributed to Giovanni Mynardo after designs by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola.⁹⁰ Described as a “magnificent large and massive antique Pietre Dure altar table inlaid with various precious stones, marble and oriental slabs,” this extraordinary piece stood in the dining saloon of the palace.⁹¹ The duke also bought furnishings at various sales in Britain. Through the intermediary of Hume, an imposing pair of Boulle armoires, today in the Louvre, was acquired at the 1823 sale at Fonthill Abbey, the large country residence built in Gothic Revival style for William Beckford (1760–1844), the duke’s father-in-law.⁹² Important French furniture from the choice collection of George Watson Taylor (1770–1841) at Erlestoke Park, in Wiltshire—such as the black lacquer commode and secretary made by Jean-Henri Riesener for Marie-Antoinette in 1783—was bought in 1832 (Figure 19).⁹³ As described above, additional pieces of French furniture, including the tapestry bed, were purchased in Paris through J. E. Quinet.

As a result of all these purchases, the state rooms in the palace housed many examples of eighteenth-century art as well as an impressive collection of paintings and sculptures. Gustav Waagen, who visited Hamilton Palace in 1851, described his experience in his *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*:

The Duke, since deceased, was an ardent lover of all styles of art, and his wealth and long life, and frequent sojourns in different countries in Europe, enabled him to gather together treasures of art of every different kind. . . . As the Duke combined in equal measure a love of art with a love of splendour, and was an especial lover of beautiful and rare marbles, the whole ameublement was on a scale of costliness, with a more numerous display of tables and cabinets of the richest Florentine mosaic than I had seen in any other palace. As a full crimson predominated in the carpets, a deep brown in the woods of the furniture, and a black Irish marble, as deep in colour as the nero antico, in the specimens of marble, the general effect was that of the most massive and truly princely splendour; at the same time somewhat gloomy, I might almost say Spanish, in character.⁹⁴

It is apparent from the Hamilton Palace inventory dating to 1835–42 that the bed, although acquired in 1830, was not yet properly installed in the state rooms, also called tapestry rooms.⁹⁵ The inventory recorded only part of a Louis XIV [*sic*] bed in tapestry in the drawing room. Furthermore,



20. Domed tester bed in situ at Hamilton Palace, Lanarkshire, Scotland, 1882. This photograph shows how the bed was framed within a decorative molding and indicates that it originally had wheels underneath, now missing. Photograph: Hamilton Palace sale 1882, lot 1912

a parcel containing three uncut pieces of plain yellow silk for lining the tapestry curtains, as well as two green curtains of silk belonging to the tapestry bed and fourteen pieces of tapestry for a bed, were listed as being locked up over the scullery in the kitchen court. To the last entry was added “in Work Girls hands,” probably indicating that some sewing or repair work needed to be done on the textiles.⁹⁶ Moreover, an unsigned and undated list titled “Articles supposed to be required in New State Rooms” mentions “extra Tapestry for deepening out Valens of Bed.”⁹⁷ Clearly the bed hangings were not in a perfect state or complete at this point, which explains why nineteenth-century replacements and additions such as parts of the valence were necessary.⁹⁸

The situation had evidently changed by 1852, when, according to the new inventory, the bed occupied a prominent position in the new state bedroom, as seen in a later photograph (Figure 20). Described as “A magnificent Carved and gilt French Bedstead with massive Dome top & D° [ditto] Corners gilt inside and out, the Furniture of the finest Gobelien Tapestry belonged to Louis XIV,” it was furnished with “a fine Down Feather Bed, Bolster and 2 large D°

Pillows in white Cases, a deep bordered best Horse Hair Mattress in stripe Linen Case, a D° D° best wool Mattress in white base, a D° D° straw Palliass [*sic*], 2 pair large best English Blankets, [and] a D° rich Marseilles Counterpane."⁹⁹

The walls of the state bedroom were hung with two large tapestries of the Gerusalemme Liberata series. Originally composed of fifteen hangings, the set had been woven in Rome for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) between 1732 and 1739 and may have been acquired by the tenth duke during the years he spent in Italy. About half the tapestries ended up at Hamilton Palace, where they were used to decorate the new state rooms.¹⁰⁰ Three tapestry overdoor panels depicting fruit and flowers had been woven for the state bedchamber at the French Aubusson manufactory in 1840.¹⁰¹ A large carpet with the arms of France, fleurs-de-lis, flowers, and fruit, in the manner of the Savonnerie rugs created for the Grand Galerie of the Louvre during the reign of Louis XIV, was also specially ordered from Aubusson for the room.¹⁰² Sixteen gilt-wood armchairs covered with "Gobelin Tapestry" with an alleged Versailles provenance and a "large size carved & gilt frame Sofa with 2 conversatione [*sic*] ends, stuffed and covered with the rich silk Brocade same as the Curtains" were among the seat furniture.¹⁰³ The pair of Boulle-work pedestals "to contain Night Chambers much enriched with chased and gilt metal mouldings and ornaments," with verde-antique marble Ionic columns on top, were presumably placed on either side of the bed.¹⁰⁴ The surface decoration of the two chests of drawers with circular ends in the room consisted also of tortoiseshell and brass marquetry.

The 1876 inventory indicates that the contents of the state bedchamber appear to have changed only slightly after the death of the tenth duke in 1852. At the time of the 1876 inventory, Hamilton Palace had been inherited by his grandson, William Hamilton Douglas, the twelfth duke (1845–1895). The "carved Gilt Bedstead style of Louis XIV with Canopy, Curtains and Cover of Gobelin Tapestry, lined with Gold coloured silk" was still the main piece of furniture in the room. The number of tapestry-covered armchairs was reduced to twelve, possibly to make place for a Boulle-work writing table that was added, along with a pair of mahogany bed steps.¹⁰⁵ The twelfth duke, who was described in a contemporary journal as a "good-hearted, free-handed, horse-loving Scotchman, wholly without guile, no better educated and no worse than the average man who has travelled round the world with his eyes open," did not use the palace much.¹⁰⁶ The vast mineral wealth of the area surrounding Hamilton Palace, bringing the "encroachment of numerous mills and factories with their tall chimneys pouring fourth their fumes of smoke and noxious vapors," may have made it an increasingly unsuitable seat for a country nobleman.¹⁰⁷ As the author of the journal article noted, "Becoming con-

scious of the absurdity of leaving a priceless collection of art-treasures shut up in a palace which was rarely visited either by his friends or the public, and thinking more of their pecuniary than of their artistic value, he determined to brave the obloquy of selling them."¹⁰⁸

The duke's decision to sell his grandfather's famed library, part of which had been formed by William Beckford, as well as the illustrious art collections resulted in a highly anticipated auction in 1882. Conducted by Christie's in London, the sale was characterized in *The Times* as follows: "To-day begins a struggle which will be memorable in history. The battlefield will be Messrs. Christie's auction rooms; the weapons will be heavy cheques and hundred-pound notes; the objects fought for will be *objets d'art*. The Hamilton Palace Sale, over which connoisseurs have gloated in imagination for months past, and which has preoccupied society for all this week, begins this afternoon. . . ."¹⁰⁹ The auction unfolded over seventeen days, and the total sum realized when the bidding ended was an astonishing £397,539, making it one of the most notable sales of the century.¹¹⁰

The *lit à la duchesse* was among the "high end" pieces of splendid French furniture sold. Illustrated in the catalogue, it was described as lot 1912: "A Louis XVI. Bedstead, richly carved and gilt, with a vase of flowers at the head, the back stuffed and covered with a panel of gobelins tapestry, with lofty canopy lined with tapestry, and with double valences and back of the same, with garlands and wreaths of flowers and foliage, and tapestry bolster covers; and a pair of yellow silk curtains." According to the priced catalogue published after the sale, the bed and its coverlet, sold as a separate lot, were both purchased by E. Radley, who was a regular bidder at the auction.¹¹¹ He bought mainly porcelains and small *objets de vertu*. The bed and the cover, for which he paid £1,155 and £357, respectively, were among Radley's most extravagant acquisitions. Edward Radley was listed in the London Commercial Directory for 1884 as an upholsterer, cabinetmaker, and importer of works of art, located at 16 Old Bond Street.¹¹² He had apparently taken over from the firm of Charles Annot & Co., which had previously been established at the same address. What happened next with the bed is not entirely clear. Radley must have sold it to the dealers Lowengard frères in Paris at some point, unless he had acted on their behalf at the Hamilton Palace sale, because in 1893–94, MM. Lowengard were listed as the proprietors.¹¹³ These dealers of fine French furniture and tapestries in Paris not only enjoyed a profitable business relationship with Joel Duveen (1843–1908) but also became related to him by marriage. Esther Duveen (1870–1949), Joel's oldest daughter, married one of the Lowengard heirs, Jacques-Jules, in 1891.¹¹⁴ The bed may have been among the goods totaling £40,000 that Duveen bought from the Lowengards for his various clients both in Europe and



21. Edith Kingdon Gould. Photograph: Falk, New York



22. Bedroom of Edith Kingdon Gould. Undated photograph in the Moss Collection (Kathrens 2002, p. 154)

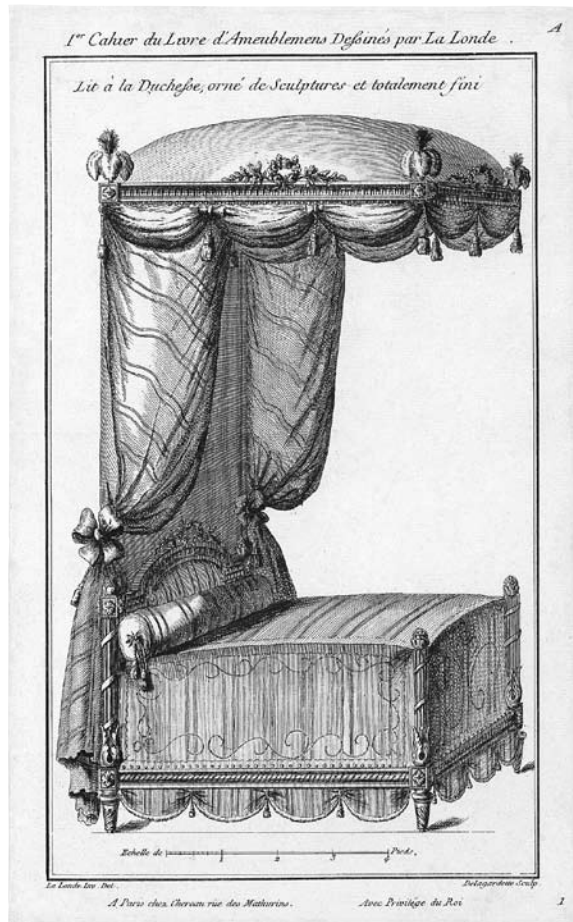
America.¹¹⁵ In September 1897 the “Finest L[ouis] XVI Bed Carved wood & Gilt adorned with Beauvais Tapestry Ex Hamilton Paris [sic]” was sold to George J. Gould for \$3,300 and shipped to New York.¹¹⁶

Gould (1864–1923) was the oldest son of the financier and railroad tycoon Jay Gould (1836–1892), whose fortune he inherited. He was a railroad executive as well, and one of the most important clients of Duveen Brothers during the first decade of the twentieth century. Interested in the theater, Gould courted an actress, Edith M. Kingdon (1864–1921), a member of Augustin Daly’s company. After earlier rumors of a wedding in Paris,¹¹⁷ and despite public criticism, the couple married at Lyndhurst, the Gould family estate in Irvington-on-Hudson, in September 1886.¹¹⁸ While not a major beauty, the bride was deemed quite pretty. According to a contemporary account, her olive complexion, gray eyes, dark hair, sharp and clean-cut features, and at times puckering mouth made her quite captivating (Figure 21).¹¹⁹ Having abandoned her acting career, Mrs. Gould returned to the stage only in rare private theatricals after her marriage.¹²⁰ Instead, she led a busy social life and raised a growing family. When the house at 857 Fifth Avenue and Sixty-seventh Street, which the Goulds had called home

since 1892, was no longer adequate for their household staff and seven children, they decided to tear the residence down and replace it with a more spacious one. In 1906–8 the architect Horace Trumbauer (1868–1938) built a grand new limestone mansion for the Goulds, its facade displaying a combination of French Neoclassical elements and Italian palazzo fenestration.¹²¹ Although the Gould house was demolished in about 1961 to make space for an apartment building, interior photographs reveal that the rooms had decorative details culled from various historic styles. Whereas Mr. Gould reposed in French Renaissance-style surroundings, Mrs. Gould’s paneled bedchamber was furnished in a manner considered more feminine, with a distinct Louis XVI flavor (Figure 22).¹²² The *lit à la duchesse*, placed on a cushioned platform, was complemented, just as it had been in the Hôtel de Belle-Isle and at Hamilton Palace, by tapestry-covered seat furniture.

Edith Gould died unexpectedly after collapsing on the golf course of the family’s country estate, Georgian Court, in Lakewood, New Jersey, in 1921.¹²³ Although heart disease appears to have been the cause of death, the doctors allegedly discovered that “her body was completely encased in rubber from neck to ankle in a pathetic attempt to regain her

23. Richard de Lalonde (French, active 1780–90). *Lit à la duchesse*. Etching and engraving from *1^{er} Cahier du livre d'ameublement*, in *Oeuvres diverses* (Paris, n.d.), vol. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.49.2)



once-famous figure."¹²⁴ A few months later the widower secretly married his longtime and much younger mistress, the actress Guinevere Jeanne Sinclair, with whom, it turned out, he had already fathered three children.¹²⁵ This union was not to last much longer than a year, since George J. Gould died of pneumonia on the French Riviera in May 1923.¹²⁶ Given the complex situation of the various heirs, it is perhaps not remarkable that Kingdon Gould, the firstborn son, wrote to the Metropolitan's president, Robert de Forest, regarding Edith Gould's eighteenth-century bed: "I have recently purchased it from my Mother's estate, in order that it might not come into the hands of strangers and should like to present it to the Metropolitan Museum out of respect for her memory."¹²⁷ Duveen Brothers was involved with the shipping and delivery of the bed to the Museum in October 1923.¹²⁸ Only later was it discovered that not all the tapestry parts had been transferred. The two side curtains, still present when the bed was at Hamilton Palace but absent in Mrs. Gould's bedroom, were never received by the Museum. It was recently disclosed why these elements were lost. In 1950 one Dorothy Cox from the London branch of Duveen Brothers wrote to the New York office about two panels of either Beauvais or Aubusson tapestry with a label affixed bearing the Gould name. She was hoping to gain informa-

tion as well as advice as to what should be done with them.¹²⁹ In reply it was explained that these panels of Beauvais tapestry belonged to the so-called Marie-Antoinette Bed formerly in the Hamilton Palace collection. "We bought this bed and sold it nearly forty years ago to George Jay Gould, whose family presented it to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York after the death of Mrs. Gould. The panels must have been detached from the bed when it was prepared for shipment, presumably because they are not vital to it. Clearly they have little or no value separate from the bed. We suggest that you obtain permission to send them to us."¹³⁰ Although permission was granted, it is not clear when they were shipped and where they ultimately found a home.¹³¹

After a century and a half of use, the state of the tapestry hangings was far from pristine, and placing the bed on permanent display in the Museum's galleries did not improve their condition. In 1928 Preston Remington wrote to his colleague Joseph Breck regarding the possibility of having them washed by Mitchell Samuels of P. W. French, Inc., in New York: "The hangings, as you know, were very dirty when the bed came to us and are still more so now, so that a great deal of their charm is totally lost, especially in the instance of the dossier and the spread."¹³² With the hangings cleaned and their coloring consequently enhanced, the bed remained on exhibition until the early 1960s.¹³³ After many decades in storage, the faded and worn textiles were too fragile to be reused in the recent reinstallation of the bed. Given the fact that the set of tapestries was incomplete and that no workshop today is able to produce hangings of a quality comparable to those woven at Beauvais, it was not feasible to have them copied. In accordance with the eighteenth-century custom of changing hangings and upholstery according to the season, with tapestries reserved for the colder time of the year and substituted by lighter fabrics during the warmer months, it was decided to furnish the Metropolitan's bed with a permanent set of silk damask "summer" hangings. Only the tapestry lining the inside of the dome was left exposed as a reminder of its former appearance (see Figure 4).¹³⁴ In order to have the new textile harmonize with the carved decoration of the bed, a Neoclassical pattern consisting of baskets of flowers and garlands was chosen in blue and cream. This color combination was current in the eighteenth century, as illustrated by numerous examples of French silks in the Museum's collection.¹³⁵ Since tapestry bed hangings, unlike those of a less heavy material, were not draped, the question arose of how to shape the new valances and curtains. The drawing of the *lit à la duchesse* at the Hôtel de Salm, just up the road from the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, offered a solution to the dilemma (see Figure 7). The arrangement depicted there, with the valance gathered in three loops at the short end of



24. Duclos and Bosse, after Sigmund Freudenberger (Swiss, 1745–1801). *Le coucher*. Etching and engraving from *Monument of Costume* (1775). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.56.28)

25. Bed steps (*marchepied de lit*). France, late 18th century. Carved, painted, and gilded wood, later velvet upholstery; 17½ x 21½ x 19 in. (44.5 x 54.6 x 48.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of David L. and Leon J. Dalva, 2008 (2008.116)



the tester and the double swagging of the coverlet hanging down over the foot, was followed for the Museum's state bed. The rendering was also instructive for the creation of the trimming, consisting of fringe, cords, tassels, and bows to tie back the side curtains. In addition, it was decided to restore the proper height of the bedding, reaching up to the capitals of the columns at the foot of the bed. (According to the 1791 inventory of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle, the bed was furnished with three mattresses, one filled with horsehair, and a featherbed.)¹³⁶ This resulted in a boxlike appearance typical of eighteenth-century beds, apparent not only in the drawing of the prince de Salm-Kyrbourg's bed but also in a number of designs by artists such as Pierre Ranson (1736–1786) and Richard de Lalonde (Figure 23). Inventory descriptions reveal that the use of three or four mattresses stuffed with straw, hair, or wool was not uncommon.¹³⁷ The presence of numerous mattresses on the bed of Grace Dalrymple Elliott (d. 1823) even helped to save the life of the marquis de Chanssenets, who sought refuge at her Parisian home during the Reign of Terror.¹³⁸

The piled-up bedding created a considerable height, and as a result, step stools or bed steps were necessary in order to ascend safely into bed, as seen in contemporary illustrations (Figure 24).¹³⁹ The observations of an English traveler

who visited Paris in August 1782 suggest that high beds were not customary in England: "Beds are raised to a very inconvenient height, so that even the longest legs must use a chair; one must literally climb into bed, not that the beds themselves are so remarkably high, but they are so loaded: just under you, there is a mattress, then a thin feather bed, then another mattress, and at the very bottom, a coarse litter or sack stuffed with straw."¹⁴⁰

The Metropolitan recently received a gift of a pair of bed steps, which will be installed with the bed once they are reupholstered with the same blue and white silk damask used for the new hangings (Figure 25). Thus, it will soon be possible for visitors to the Wrightsman Galleries to imagine how the duchesse de Praslin mounted her *lit à la duchesse en impériale* to receive her guests.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During the research on the history of this bed, numerous colleagues have offered valuable assistance. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Christian Baulez, Charissa Bremer-David, Godfrey Evans, Patrick Leperlier, Charlotte Vignon, Jean Vittet, and Melinda Watt for sharing information or offering helpful suggestions.

NOTES

Translations from the French are by the author unless otherwise stated.

1. The original provenance of the Neoclassical *boiserie* is not known. During the nineteenth century it was installed in the Hôtel de Lauzun on the Île Saint-Louis, Paris. The gallery where it is now on view formerly housed the Museum's unsurpassed collection of Sèvres-mounted furniture.
2. The term, according to Henry Havard (1887–90, vol. 2, pp. 236–37), was introduced toward the late seventeenth century, when the name first appears in contemporary inventories. It is thought, however, that this type of bed already existed during the Middle Ages but was then known as a *lit à plein ciel*. See Reyniès 1987, vol. 1, p. 256.
3. Havard 1887–90, vol. 2, p. 236, vol. 3, p. 428; Reyniès 1987, vol. 1, p. 256.
4. Beds played an important role in the life cycle of man as the place where relationships were consummated and births and deaths occurred, and the choice of the plant imagery and other motifs should be examined in this light. The quiver with its arrows, for instance, generally the attribute of the hunter or of the gods and goddesses of war, could here be interpreted as a symbol of love, given that Cupid is nearly always depicted with his bow, quiver, and arrows. More openly symbolizing love are the roses, generally associated with the goddess Aphrodite, and the aromatic myrtle. In classical antiquity, roses and myrtle were used together for bridal wreaths. The flowers, ranging here from buds to blooms past their prime, may in addition symbolize the passage of time. As such, they could serve as a subtle reminder of *vanitas*, warning that even the most beautiful bloom will eventually wilt and die.
5. Sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, November 30–December 2, 1986, lot 794. The bed was part of the contents of Mona Bismarck's Paris residence on the avenue de New York. Its present whereabouts are not known. Another related bed, sporting two headboards for use in an alcove or niche and therefore without tester, was shown in 2009 at the European Fine Art Fair (TEFAF) in Maastricht by Pelham Galleries of Paris and London. It is thought to have belonged to Marie-Madeleine Guimard (1743–1816), a dancer first at the Comédie Française and subsequently at the Paris Opéra who was famous for her many love affairs. It was supposedly at her Paris hôtel in the Chaussée d'Antin, which was designed for her by the architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806). See Moonan 2009.
6. *Rue de Lille* 1983, pp. 170–72.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 168, 172.
8. The inventory is quoted in the catalogue of the Bismarck sale in 1986 (see note 5 above).
9. Kingdon Gould to Robert de Forest, September 11, 1923, MMA Archives.
10. Excellent examples are the black lacquer secretary and commode made by Jean-Henri Riesener in 1783 for use of the queen in her *grand cabinet intérieur* at Versailles, now in the MMA (20.155.11, .12). See Kisluk-Grosheide, Koeppel, and Rieder 2006, pp. 198–201, nos. 82, 83. See also the related commode and secretary with trelliswork and pictorial marquetry by Riesener dating to about 1783–85 but later altered by him, today in the Frick Collection (Dell 1992, pp. 71–91).
11. Recommendation of Joseph Breck to the Trustees, November 19, 1923, MMA Archives. See also Remington 1924, pp. 6, 8. Some thirty years earlier the canopy lining had already been correctly identified as Beauvais tapestry, but this reference was apparently not yet known; see Champeaux 1893–94, vol. 6, pl. 523.
12. In a letter addressed to Kingdon Gould, April 13, 1925 (MMA Archives), Joseph Breck wrote: "I wonder if you have seen the Louis XVI bed in its new location in [Gallery] I 10? The room is a little empty now as we have very little furniture of the Louis XVI period; nevertheless I think the bed looks very well."
13. Remington 1924, p. 6. The maker was apparently not yet identified, nor was the origin of the tapestries known at this time.
14. For information on Georges Jacob, see Lefuel 1923 and Pallot 1993, pp. 194–95.
15. Remington 1954, pp. 67, 74 (ill.).
16. Pierre Verlet (1966, pp. 64, 144, 146–47, pl. 99) identified the tapestry as Beauvais and called its design as "being in the taste of Salembier or Huet."
17. Edith Standen later noted (1985, vol. 2, pp. 564–67, no. 84) that the spiral forms of the back panel were close to the prints of Salembier. She also observed that the valance panel, seen at the narrow end of the canopy, did not belong to the same set as the rest of the hangings and that the two side panels of the valance were nineteenth-century copies. Further replacements, such as the sides of the coverlet dating to the nineteenth century, were mentioned, and the silk side curtains were said to be modern.
18. The frame was treated in the Museum's Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation by Stephanie Massaux under the supervision of Pascale Patris and Mechthild Baumeister. Carole Halle replaced some of the missing carvings. Nancy Britton was responsible for the treatment of the original upholstered elements, and Clarissa DeMuzio created the new damask hangings.
19. Deville 1878–80, vol. 1, p. 204.
20. Havard 1887–90, vol. 2, p. 236, vol. 3, p. 428.
21. *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 428–29. The bed of Louis XVI was estimated in 1792 at 84,942 *livres*, and the one of Marie-Antoinette used during the summer months was valued at 131,820 *livres*.
22. See Ratzki-Kraatz 1986, p. 81.
23. The French architect and theorist Le Camus de Mézières (1721–1789) even stated that "the bedchamber that completes the state apartment will often serve only for show" (Le Camus de Mézières 1992, p. 113).
24. Mossiker 1983, p. 285.
25. Blondel 1752–56, vol. 1, p. 33, quoted by Ziskin 1999, pp. 25, 167–68n55.
26. Entry dated April 4, 1769, in Greig 1926, p. 90.
27. This bed is in the Residenz in Munich. See Langer 1995, pp. 194–97, no. 47.
28. I am grateful to the Museum's Grants Committee for awarding me a travel grant in 2006, making it possible to do part of this research in Edinburgh.
29. Weigert 1962, pp. 123–34. The manufactory was temporarily closed in 1793, and when it reopened after the Revolution under the direction of the State, the workshops produced upholstery covers almost exclusively.
30. Manufacture Nationale de Beauvais, "Prix des ouvrages et compte des ouvriers, années 1776–1790," Archives Mobilier National, Paris, B 171.
31. *Ibid.*, order no. 31, fol. 167, and order no. 246, fol. 259. See also Coural and Gastinel-Coural 1992, p. 57.
32. Archives Mobilier National, Paris, B 171, order no. 31, fol. 167: "le lit complet contenant la carré de la courtpointe, le traversin, les bouts dudit, 3 soubassement, 6 pentes, 2 bonnes graces, l'impérial et les courbes dud. ainsy que le dossier et le champourné."
33. *Ibid.*, fols. 167v, 168, 168v, 169.

34. *Ibid.*, order no. 246, fols. 257v, 258, 258v, 259.
35. Fleming and Honour 1977, pp. 29–30, 354–55. The terminology appears to have been loosely used at times.
36. Hauteceur 1912, p. 46: “Les arabesques sont une source inépuisable pour décorer dans un beau style l’intérieur et l’extérieur des bâtiments modernes, des meubles et même des habits.”
37. See Standen 1985, vol. 2, pp. 557–63, no. 83.
38. Several tapestries of this arabesque design and seat furniture with matching tapestry covers are illustrated in Verlet 1966, pp. 57–58.
39. Archives Nationales, Paris, O² 858. Coural and Gastinel-Coural 1992, pp. 63, 65n41: “tableaux d’un lit Complet dit à la duchesse peint par huet avec fleurs et Draperies.”
40. Some of the figures appear to sport Russian costumes. One tapestry of this set, *The Repast*, is in the Museum’s collection (48.139). See Standen 1985, vol. 2, pp. 550–56, no. 82. See also Weigert 1962, p. 133.
41. During the warmer months the walls of the room were lined with hangings of *chiné* taffeta and the bed was replaced by a different one that was hung with *chiné* taffeta as well. The upholstery of the seat furniture was changed to the same material. See Verlet 1966, pp. 277–80.
42. Magny 1987, pp. 50–52.
43. This *lit à triple impériale* was further said to be of a new type (*genre neuf*). See Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, p. 601.
44. Verlet 1966, p. 279.
45. Four wall panels, the bedspread, the *fond de lit*, and another small piece are in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. Upholstery for six armchairs is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Standen 1985, vol. 1, p. 397.
46. Verlet 1966, pp. 64–65, fig. 39–40. For information about the Croome Court Tapestry Room, see Peck et al. 1996, pp. 156–67.
47. “un grand lit en dôme tendu de tapisseries des Gobelins.” Havard 1887–90, vol. 3, p. 435. In 1773 Beaujon acquired the Hôtel d’Évreux, the former Paris residence of Madame de Pompadour (now the Élysée Palace), where he created a gallery to display his impressive collection of paintings. Coural 1994, pp. 31, 34.
48. Coural 1994, p. 34. See also Thiéry 1787, vol. 1, p. 83: “La pièce suivante forme une chambre à coucher, donnant aussi sur le jardin, décorée de trois belles tapisseries des Gobelins, représentant le sommeil de Renaud, son départ, & Angélique & Médor. Quatre palmiers, ornés [*sic*] de draperies & de roses, supportent un riche couronnement au-dessus du lit.”
49. Henriette-Louise de Waldner de Freundstein, known since her marriage to Charles Siegfried, Baron d’Oberkirch, as Baronne d’Oberkirch, was a childhood friend of Maria Feodorovna, born Princess Sophie-Marie Dorothea Auguste Louise of Württemberg, whom she accompanied during her visit to Paris in 1782. Burkard 1982, p. 211. “La vie de ce financier est, à ce qu’on assure, des plus singulières. Il était malade, et il lui était défendu de manger autre chose qu’une sorte de brouet au lait sans sucre. Il donnait des dîners dignes de Comus, il voyait manger ses convives, il sentait l’odeur des mets, et il ne touchait à rien. Il était entouré des plus jolies femmes de Paris, qui le traitaient tout à fait sans conséquence; elles le lutinaient et l’agaçaient sans cesse. La moindre galanterie lui était défendue, les émotions lui étaient interdites. Le soir sa maison était pleine d’une joyeuse compagnie, le souper était étincelant, les mots et les bouchons se croisaient. Pendant ce temps, le propriétaire, ce Crésus envié de tous, était condamné à se mettre au lit, où il ne dormait pas à cause de ses souffrances. Ces dames se relevaient autour de lui, et l’une après l’autre le berçaient de leurs chansons, de leurs histoires, de leurs propos. De là le nom de *berceuses* de M. de Beaujon, qu’on leur donna fort généreusement.”
50. A similar account is given by the artist Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun ([1926], pp. 180–83).
51. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
52. P. Remy & C. F. Julliot, fils, Hôtel d’Évreux, Paris, sale, April 25, 1787, and following days. The *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh: An Allegory of the Dinteville Family* (now MMA 50.70), by an unknown Netherlandish or French painter, was part of the Beaujon collection and included in the sale as lot 16 as a picture by Jean Holbein (Coural and Gastinel-Coural 1995, pp. 44–45). Four months before his death, Beaujon sold the house to Louis XVI for 1,100,000 *livres*. Included in the price were the sculptures and vases in the gardens, the bookcases in the gallery, and all the mirrors, paneling and overdoors in the various rooms, but no other furniture or furnishings (Coural 1994, p. 43).
53. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis: “Grande chambre de la duchesse de Praslin, dite chambre d’été No. 331: Un grand lit à la duchesse dont la couchette a un dossier avec pilastres aux quatre angles richement sculptés dorés, avec son ciel à cornice ornée de couronnes de fleurs et branchages aussi richement sculptés et dorés, le tout garni de doubles pentes et calottes à l’impériale, grand dossier de fond et double cantonnière, chevet et grande courtépointe de tapisserie de Beauvais moderne à fond blanc à guirlandes de fleurs, desseins d’arabesques et de draperies et garni d’une grande housse composée de deux grands rideaux de cinq léz chacun sur trois aunes et demie de haut et de deux bonnes graces d’un léz chacune en quinze seize vert uni avec un petit molet d’or au pourtour, cordons et glands aussi en or, le tout faux, prisé 6.000 livres.” I am grateful to Christian Baulez and Patrick Leperlier for bringing this inventory to my attention.
54. The wall hangings of arabesque design and blue draperies woven at the Beauvais manufactory at the same time were not listed in the summer room in 1791; other tapestries with subjects of Greek history were lining the walls, according to the inventory description. The matching covers for the seat furniture, also recorded in the Beauvais ledgers as being part of the same 1782–83 commission, were not present in the room, either.
55. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 328. I am indebted to Christian Baulez for pointing these corner cabinets out to me. See also Arizzoli-Clementel 2002, vol. 2, pp. 78–79, no. 22.
56. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 333: “quatre grands panneaux de tapisserie de Beauvais neuve représentant sujets de l’histoire grecque comprenant en tout vingt et une aunes carrés, prisés ensemble 2.000 livres.”
57. This suggestion was made by Thomas Campbell, now director of the MMA, to whom I am grateful. Examples of tapestries belonging to this set are in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
58. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 335: “deux grands canapés et six fauteuils de fond en bois sculpté doré, avec dossiers et sièges à chassis, garnies de crin couverts de tapisserie neuve d’Aubusson à grands cartouches sujets d’animaux, six fauteuils à cabriolets, six autres pareils à coussins aussi en bois sculpté et doré couverts en tapisserie de Beauvais à cartouches de fleurs, prisé le tout ensemble avec les housses des dits sièges en toile 1.000 livres.”
59. *Ibid.*, no. 329. Various clockmakers by this name, members of the same family, were active in Paris. See Augarde 1996, pp. 350–53.
60. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 330. A number of clockmakers by the

- name of Baillon were active in eighteenth-century France. See Augarde 1996, pp. 67, 272–73.
61. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaries,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 337.
 62. Francis Seymour Conway to Horace Walpole, April 10, 1765, in Lewis et al. 1974, p. 531.
 63. See Maurepas and Boulant 1996, pp. 238–42, where the date of his elevation is incorrectly given as 1766. See also Seréville and Saint Simon [1976], p. 299.
 64. At this time, for instance, Canada and all the North American territories east of the Mississippi River were lost to Great Britain.
 65. Watson 1970, pp. 270–75, no. 73.
 66. The *hôtel* was built for the Comte Louis-Charles-Auguste Fouquet de Belle-Isle (1684–1761)—hence the name of the residence. De Belle-Isle enjoyed a successful military career and was a grandson of Nicolas Fouquet. See *Rue de Lille* 1983, pp. 71–75.
 67. Le Rouge 1771, vol. 2, pp. 144; Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, pp. 591–92.
 68. This *boiserie* was originally thought to have come from the Pavillon de Marsan at the Palais des Tuileries, Paris. See Pératé and Brière 1908, pp. 38–40, pls. 131–33. A photograph of the doors in situ of the Hôtel de Belle-Isle was published in *Rue de Lille* 1983, p. 75.
 69. *Rue de Lille* 1983, p. 73.
 70. This inventory in the Archives Nationales, Paris, is barely legible owing to extensive damage, and I am relying for that reason on the text of *Rue de Lille* 1983, pp. 73–74.
 71. Horace Walpole to John Chute, October 3, 1765, in Lewis et al. 1973, p. 114.
 72. His book collection was said to comprise 845 volumes. See *Rue de Lille* 1983, p. 74. Toward the end of the duke’s life, in 1780, the sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828) made a plaster bust, now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris. See Scherf 2006, pp. 44–47, no. 6.
 73. The British traveler Arthur Young commented (1950, p. 263) on this custom: “Some of the hotels in Paris are immense in size, from a circumstance which would give me a good opinion of the people, if nothing else did, which is the great mixture of families. When the eldest son marries, he brings his wife home to the house of his father, where there is an apartment provided to them.”
 74. Thiéry 1787, vol. 2, pp. 591–92: “Le Cabinet de M. le Duc de Praslin, qui réunit celui de M. le Duc de Praslin son père, est trop connu dans toute l’Europe, pour avoir besoin d’un éloge particulier. Il renferme la collection la plus précieuse de tableaux de toutes les Écoles, mais notamment de l’École Flamande, dont il rassemble les objets les plus distingués.” Horace Walpole visited the collector on October 10, 1775. He wrote in his journal: “With Dean Marlay to Hôtel de Praslin. Two rooms of French and Flemish pictures. 2 Claudes, one fine. Several Girardons, Teniers, Rembrandts, Ostades, Wouwermans. 2 small Domenichinos on black marble, fine. Glorious view from Grand Cabinet” (Lewis and Smith 1939, p. 353).
 75. Vigée-Le Brun [1926], p. 23.
 76. Augarde 1983, pp. 34–44.
 77. Sale, Alexandre Joseph Paillet, Paris, February 18–28, 1793, lot 240. The commode was described as “une superbe Comode [*sic*] figurant un sarcophage; elle est en marquetterie première partie, par le célèbre Boulle & l’on peut dire son chef-d’oeuvre dans ce genre de meuble, où il a surpassé tous les Artistes de son tems [*sic*].”
 78. The country house in Auteuil became the primary residence of the family during the Revolution; see Leben 1991, pp. 100–101.
 79. *Rue de Lille* 1983, p. 74.
 80. Leben 1991, p. 101.
 81. Archives Nationales, Paris, M.C. LVIII/638.
 82. Sale, Alexandre Joseph Paillet, Paris, May 9, 1808, and May 19–20, 1808. Although there are two auction catalogues, they pertain to the same Choiseul-Praslin sale. Originally planned for May 9–10, 1808, it actually took place May 19–20, 1808. Included as lot 48 was the marble bust of Voltaire by Houdon.
 83. National Register of Archives for Scotland, Edinburgh (hereafter NRAS) 2177, bundle 498: “lit en bois doré avec pente, traversin, couvrepied” and a “canapé, 10 fauteuils et un écran couvert en tapisserie des gobelin.” I am grateful to Geoffrey Evans for his assistance with the Hamilton Palace Archives.
 84. See Tait 1983, p. 394n6.
 85. NRAS 2177, bundle 498: “une caisse d’un Bois de lit doré composé des deux Dossiers, les 2 pentes, 3 grandes parties sculptées qui dependent du Baldaquin, le Baldaquin dans l’Intérieur se trouve 14 pièces tapisserie des draperies, fond de lit, courtepointe et traversin, 2 rideaux en soi.”
 86. Henry Avray Tipping, “A Brief History of Hamilton Palace,” in Hamilton Palace sale 1919, p. 4.
 87. See Tait 1983.
 88. See *ibid.*, pp. 396, 399.
 89. Hamilton Palace sale 1919, lot 333.
 90. See Kisluk-Grosheide, Koeppe, and Rieder 2006, pp. 23–25, no. 7. Koeppe and Giusti 2008, pp. 120–22, no. 10.
 91. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1852, NRAS 2177, vol. 1228, p. 98.
 92. Freyberger 1981, pp. 402–3.
 93. See Kisluk-Grosheide, Koeppe, and Rieder 2006, pp. 198–201, nos. 82, 83.
 94. Waagen 1854, vol. 3, p. 295.
 95. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1835–42, NRAS 2177, vol. 1223, p. 164.
 96. *Ibid.*, pp. 170–71.
 97. NRAS 2177, bundle 665.
 98. As listed by Standen 1985, vol. 2, p. 566. See also note 16 above.
 99. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1852, NRAS 2177, vol. 1228, p. 111. The bed and bedding were valued at £100, the same estimate as the Farnese table received that year, whereas the black lacquer secretary made by Riesener for Marie-Antoinette was appraised at £25 (*ibid.*, pp. 98, 116).
 100. Four of the tapestries are now in the MMA (92.1.14–17). See Standen 1982 and Standen 1985, vol. 2, pp. 776–85, no. 143.
 101. Letter from Feuillet Dumus, a representative of the Aubusson manufactory, to the tenth Duke of Hamilton, Paris, December 8, 1840 (NRAS 332/C4/841/1), mentioning the “Trois Panneaux dessus de porte en Tapisserie, fleurs, fruits, sont en bonne voie, malgré qu’ils soyent très difficile d’execution, ces panneaux sont très beaux.”
 102. *Ibid.* The letter mentions the “beau Tapis Louis XIV” and repeats the duke’s instructions for its design. A sketch for this carpet is included in NRAS 2177, bundle 665. This and similar rugs were sold at the Hamilton Palace sale in 1919, lots 299, 303, 310.
 103. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1852, NRAS 2177, vol. 1228, p. 111. This settee was sold at the Hamilton Palace sale in 1882, lot 1910.
 104. Hamilton Palace inventory, 1852, NRAS 2177, vol. 1228, p. 111.
 105. *Inventory of the Furniture, Pictures, Articles of Vertu etc. at Hamilton Palace*, 1876, pp. 22–23; CD-ROM of the original kept in Hamilton Town House Library.
 106. “The Hamilton Sale,” *The Critic*, July 1, 1882, p. 176.
 107. “Minor Old World Facts,” *New York Times*, February 25, 1882, 1, p. 4.
 108. “The Hamilton Sale,” *The Critic*, July 1, 1882, p. 176.
 109. Report in *The Times*, June 17, 1882, p. 11, cols. 3–4. Quoted by Rieder 2002, p. 89.
 110. “Fact and Rumor,” *Christian Union* 26, no. 8 (August 24, 1982), p. 156.

111. Hamilton Palace collection 1882, p. 218, lots 1911, 1912.
112. *The Post Office London Directory for 1884* (London, [1883]), vol. 1, p. 1203.
113. The canopy of the bed is illustrated and said to belong to MM. Lowengard by Champeaux 1893–94, vol. 6, pl. 523.
114. Secrest 2004, pp. 22, 28, 36–37.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
116. Duveen Archives, box 50, sales book no. 3, August 1897–June 1899, p. 7. I am indebted to Charlotte Vignon for this and other information from the Duveen archives. The bed was illustrated in Ricci 1913, pp. 198–99. According to the caption this state bed was also “from the Hamilton Palace sale . . . having also belonged to MM. Lowengard and Duveen Brothers, now at New York, George J. Gould Collection.”
117. “Has Not Married Miss Kingdon,” *New York Times*, July 26, 1886, p. 8.
118. “George Gould Is Married,” *New York Times*, September 15, 1886, p. 1.
119. “Jay Gould, Railroad Tycoon, Visits the City of Ottawa; a Millionaire’s Appearance; ‘The Boy’ George and His Bonny Bride,” *Daily Local News* (Ottawa, Canada), October 15, 1886, p. 2.
120. “Mrs. Gould to Re-Appear in a One-Act Play,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1908, p. X2; “Mrs. Gould Turns Actress for a Day,” *New York Times*, January 22, 1908, p. 7.
121. Kathrens 2002, pp. 148–55; Kathrens 2005, pp. 190–98.
122. The following is listed in the undated inventory, “Catalogue of Pictures and Objects of Art at the Residence of George Gould, Esq. in Fifth Avenue & Sixty-Seventh Street, New York City,” p. 57, Getty Research Institute, Malibu, Duveen 960015, box 459, series II, H, folder 3 (probably done in 1914, when the inventory of the Gould’s country house, Georgian Court, Lakewood, New Jersey, was also drawn up): “A Louis XVI bedstead, richly carved and gilt, with a vase of flowers at the head, the back stuffed and covered with a panel of Gobelins Tapestry, with lofty canopy lined with Tapestry, and with double valances and back of the same, with garlands and wreaths of flowers and foliage, and tapestry bolster covers, and with a pair of yellow silk curtains.” This is the same description that was given in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue. I am grateful to Charissa Bremer-David for sharing this inventory information with me.
123. “Mrs. George J. Gould Dies Playing Golf,” *New York Times*, November 14, 1921, pp. 1, 6.
124. Kathrens 2002, p. 150.
125. “Gould Gone for Good to Live in England; Bride Wed in Tears,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1922, p. 1.
126. “George Gould Will Leaves \$30,000,000,” *New York Times*, June 5, 1923, p. 1.
127. Kingdon Gould to Robert de Forest, September 11, 1923, MMA Archives.
128. P. P., Duveen Brothers, to Henry F. Davidson, registrar at the Museum, October 31, 1923 (Duveen Archives, box 335, reel 190, folder 9), lists the individual parts of the bed.
129. Dorothy Cox to New York office of Duveen Brothers, July 11, 1950, Duveen Archives, box 291, folder 6, Tapestries III, c. 1925–1954.
130. B. S. Boggis, New York office of Duveen Brothers, to Dorothy Cox, London, July 14, 1950, Duveen Archives, box 291, folder 6, Tapestries III, c. 1925–1954.
131. London office of Duveen Brothers to the New York office, August 4, 1950, regarding the approval for shipping of the tapestry panels that had been granted; E. Fowles, New York office, to London, August 14, 1950, regarding the shipping of the tapestry panels (Duveen Archives, box 291, folder 6, Tapestries III, c. 1925–1954).
132. Preston Remington to Joseph Breck, December 19, 1928, MMA Archives.
133. Preston Remington to Kingdon Gould, April 17, 1929, mentions that the hangings of the bed had recently been cleaned. A letter of June 7, 1963, from Stephan Boudin of the decorating firm Jansen, Paris, regarding new curtains for the bed reveals that there must have been some thought of reusing the bed in the French Galleries, which were then being changed and expanded with the generous support of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman. Both letters (the former is a copy) are in the European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Department archives.
134. The loose tapestry parts, such as the coverlet, head cloth, and valances, are stored in the MMA’s Antonio Ratti Center, whereas the fitted tapestry elements were left on the headboard and rails and covered over with the new silk damask.
135. This damask was machine-woven for the Museum in England by Richard Humphries at Warners and ordered through John Buscemi of Belfry Historic Consultants, LLC, in Lynn, Massachusetts.
136. Archives Nationales, Paris, “Minutier central des notaires,” étude LVIII, liasse 574 bis, no. 332.
137. Louis XVI had as many as six wool mattresses on his bed at the Château de Saint-Cloud, whereas Marie-Antoinette had only four, according to the 1789 inventory of Saint-Cloud (Archives Nationales, Paris, O¹, 3428, fols. 115, 149). For the Museum’s bed the desired height was achieved by ordering two mattresses, one filled with horsehair and the other with wool, both covered with blue and white ticking, as well as a feather bed. The weight of this bedding is supported on a modern table support placed inside the eighteenth-century frame so as not to stress the gilded rails.
138. In her journal Mrs. Dalrymple Elliott (1859, p. 90) described how they hid the aristocrat from guards searching her house between the mattresses on her bed: “We accordingly pulled two of the mattresses out further than the others, and made a space next to the wall, and put him in.”
139. These bed steps were often upholstered in the same material as the bed. According to the 1789 inventory of Saint-Cloud, for instance, Louis XVI’s bedroom was furnished with a *lit à la turque à deux dossiers* with hangings of *gros de Naples broché*, which was also used for the bed steps (*marche pied à deux degrés*) in the room. Marie-Antoinette had a *lit à la Polonoise* in her bedroom with hangings of *pékin peint*. The two-step bed stool was covered in the same fabric (Archives Nationales, Paris, O¹, 3428, fols. 113–16, 146–51).
140. English traveler of the Cullum de Hardwick family from Suffolk, quoted in Pardailhé-Galabrun 1991, p. 78.

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Jean-Galbert Salvage and His *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant*: Art and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary France

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If France wishes to see the arts flourish and begin anew, with greater energy, with the sublime enthusiasm that is their due and to give men of genius the glory of transmitting to posterity, in marble and on canvas, the memorable scenes that graced the French Revolution, what is required is the intervention of the government, which at all times owes its support to the fine arts.

—Charles Louis Corbet, 1797¹

The year 1812 saw the publication of one of the more remarkable illustrated books ever to appear in France. Titled *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant, applicable aux beaux arts, ou, Traité des os, des muscles, du mécanisme des mouvemens, des proportions et des caractères du corps humain* (see Figures 6–8, 18–35, 37), it was inspired by contemporary rhetoric celebrating the role of the arts in the new post-revolutionary society. At the same time, it was a magnificent display of hard-won knowledge of human anatomy and a tribute to medical science. A copy of the 1812 treatise was given to the Metropolitan Museum in 1952 by Lincoln Kirstein (1907–1996), the influential New York writer, connoisseur, collector, and balletomane who was the founder, with George Balanchine, of the New York City Ballet.

Although it has received recent scholarly attention, the full story of the production of the *Anatomie* and of the author's struggle to gain the state's financial support has not been told.² This account of the activities and career of that author—a young, talented man of modest means, the physician and artist Jean-Galbert Salvage (1770–1813)—will provide a case study of how the machinery of government functioned, or absurdly malfunctioned, in France's culturally heady post-revolutionary years. The focus will be on the period from 1796 to 1812, when Salvage conceived and produced the work he hoped the state would consider a worthy contribution to artistic progress.

After 1789, the system of state artistic patronage in France underwent a sea change as individuals with new ideas

about the ends to be served by the fine arts took charge of the administrative apparatus. Their role in the cultural and artistic life of the country became crucial, while private patronage from the nobility and the clergy almost disappeared. Under the Ancien Régime a sizable bureaucracy, mostly installed at Versailles, had administered artistic patronage through several ministries, the most important being the Direction Générale des Bâtiments, Jardins, Arts, Académies, et Manufactures du Roi, which took on a much greater role in the middle of the eighteenth century.³ In keeping with its purpose of contributing to the greater glory of the monarchy, it commissioned works meant to embellish the numerous royal residences and churches, and administered royal production centers such as the porcelain manufactory at Sèvres and the Gobelins tapestry works. In order to distribute the commissions, these functionaries worked closely with the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture and, in particular, with the Premier Peintre du Roi (first painter to the king). This system of preference and patronage provoked increasing hatred as the Revolution drew near, and by the 1780s, it was not only the academy of painting and sculpture that was widely held in contempt: all the official academies were the subject of bitter derision. One writer who would soon join the revolutionary cause stated a view widespread in 1783 that “the ancients would never have imagined bodies as bizarre as our academies,” referring principally to the academy of sciences.⁴ With the Revolution, both the Bâtiments du Roi and the reviled academies were replaced by new state bureaucracies.

Ten years after the Revolution, many of those holding upper-level administrative posts in the important ministries

were still men with titles of nobility, but ones who had served the Revolution in one manner or another and who professed more democratic values and ideals, ostensibly placing much greater value on merit. Members of the fine arts bureaucracy contended that the state should provide official encouragement to artists for the production and exhibition of works that served as didactic examples of the new ideals and practices that were now appreciated as the true artistic heritage of France. A series of official acts set these goals into effect, including the creation in 1793 of the Musée de la République at the Palais du Louvre, an institution founded on the principle that artistic treasures belonged to all.⁵ When it was renamed the Musée Napoléon in 1803, it had become the home of the newly established École des Beaux-Arts, as well as the Classe des Beaux-Arts of the Institut National des Sciences et des Arts, founded in 1795. These institutions were responsible for publicizing French artistic genius and identifying the most talented, who might promote the progress of both art and the nation.⁶ Furthermore, in keeping with the state's plan to support artists of merit, the budget of the Interior Ministry included a specially designated fund to purchase instructional materials for use in the new institutions of public education and to disseminate a standard of the art of design, with an emphasis on draftsmanship, among its schools and the populace.⁷ Members of the Classe des Beaux-Arts judged petitions from artists for state support. Opinions rendered by this body, comprising distinguished painters, sculptors, engravers, and architects, were essential to the process of approval, since their judgments were based on an applicant's tangible achievements. An endorsement by the Classe des Beaux-Arts, known as an *encouragement*, was published and forwarded to the Interior Ministry, giving an artist's work potential monetary value.⁸ This *encouragement* was merely a recommendation: it was the minister who decided whether funds should be given, the amount, and the method of payment. He could ask for advice about the merits of a case from individuals, institutions, or the special committees formed for that purpose. Additionally, unsolicited letters could be sent by the applicant or others writing on his behalf. Unfortunately, as Salvage would discover, navigating the state bureaucracy could take years, even for an artist who was well known and had earned the recognition of an *encouragement*.

FROM THE BATTLEFIELD TO THE CAPITAL: SALVAGE IN PARIS

In 1796, at the age of twenty-six, Salvage arrived in Paris. He had graduated from medical school at Montpellier in 1792,⁹ and when he joined the revolutionary army the following year, he declared himself a patriot (as was required of officers) and was subsequently given the rank of surgeon

third class. He served in the medical corps in the Army of the Rhine and Moselle.¹⁰ By 1796, in reward for excellent service, Salvage was given a post in Paris on the staff of the Hôpital Général à l'Hôpital Militaire d'Instruction pour les Officiers du Service de Santé, established in the seventeenth-century convent of Val-de-Grâce requisitioned for this use.¹¹

As he later wrote in the introduction to his treatise, Paris offered him the opportunity to satisfy his yearning to become an artist: "Back from the army in 1796, and employed at the military hospital of Paris, I conceived of the project of using my anatomical studies for an art that I have loved since my earliest childhood. Fascinated by this idea, I devoted myself to drawing with zeal, I attended the academies; I learned to model, to inculcate myself with the antique beauties which I found displayed everywhere." His expressed intentions were also infused with patriotism: "It is not vanity that guides me, nor praise that I seek. My desires are limited to being useful to my country and to seeing thrive there the arts that peace and plenty make possible."¹²

During this period, the concept of progress in all areas of endeavor was tied to scientific discoveries and inventions. Thus, Salvage embarked on an extensive project that would call upon his considerable knowledge and skills as a physician, surgeon, and artist. From the outset, he apparently had in mind the traditional format of an illustrated publication, but its contents would be more ambitious. According to a prospectus published in June 1812, his annotated anatomical drawings would explicate the complex layering of muscles and skeletal formations of the body in movement through multiple views. Further, there would be texts and illustrations with information drawn from medicine, anatomy, physiology, and the natural sciences, intended to aid the artist in the truthful representation of the human body. In addition, Salvage created several three-dimensional anatomized figures, or *écorchés*, exposing the muscles and/or the skeleton beneath the skin, to be used in conjunction with the drawings.

In accordance with a contemporary belief that classical sculpture represented artistic perfection, Salvage chose two famous examples as subjects for his project. In 1803 an entire gallery of the Musée Napoléon had been established for the display of such celebrated antique sculptures as the Apollo Belvedere (Figure 1) and the group known as the Laocoön. By 1811, the Borghese Gladiator, purchased in 1807, was on display (Figure 2). This sculpture, along with the Apollo Belvedere, was the focus of Salvage's *Anatomie*. Commenting on his choice of the Gladiator, he wrote: "The figure known as the Gladiator was the one that struck me the most; its attitude, its elegant carving, its movement, its action, everything in this statue showed me the fruits of science and the genius of art. It was in one of these moments of admiration that I



1. The Apollo Belvedere (detail of head). 2nd-century A.D. Hellenistic or Roman copy of a bronze of 350–325 B.C. by the Greek sculptor Leochares. Marble, h. of statue 7 ft. 3 in. (2.2 m). Museum Pio Clementino, Vatican Museums, Vatican State. Photograph: Scala/Art Resource, New York



2. The Borghese Gladiator, or *Fighting Warrior*. Roman copy of ca. A.D. 200 after a Greek original of ca. 100 B.C. signed by Agasias of Ephesus, son of Dositheus. Pentelic marble, h. 3 ft. 11 ¼ in. (1.2 m). Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

conceived the plan for a book that unites both the exact study of anatomy and its application to the progress of art.”¹³

Salvage also may have chosen the Gladiator because of its familiarity to artists, both those who had attended the academy’s school and those who acquired their education outside its doors. Within the academy, for instance, the comte de Caylus—the member most committed to the teaching of anatomy—funded a monetary prize in 1764 for anatomical drawing and had the institution’s skeleton repaired so that it could be posed in the position of the Gladiator.¹⁴ The statue was a canonical representation of an athletic virile male and a Neoclassical body type widely quoted in the painting and sculpture of the period. Plaster casts of the work in various sizes were used in private ateliers and academies for teaching anatomy,¹⁵ while bronze and marble replicas embellished both private and public gardens. In 1798 a copy stood in the Jardin des Tuileries, and in 1800 another was to be seen on the terrace at Malmaison, Napoleon’s residence.¹⁶ Perhaps the most noteworthy use of the figure in a public place occurred in 1796, the year Salvage arrived in Paris, when a copy was installed on the newly designed lawn adjacent to the garden facade of the Palais Directorial, the former Palais du Luxembourg,

by Jean-François Chalgrin (1739–1811), a distinguished architect and member of the Classe des Beaux-Arts.¹⁷ In this location it could have been understood to be, like the ubiquitous figure of Hercules in popular imagery, a symbol of the Revolution.¹⁸ The palace and its extensive gardens were only a short walk from the hospital where Salvage worked. It is perhaps not entirely coincidental that a few years later Chalgrin would be among members of the Classe des Beaux-Arts who approved Salvage’s project for state funding.¹⁹

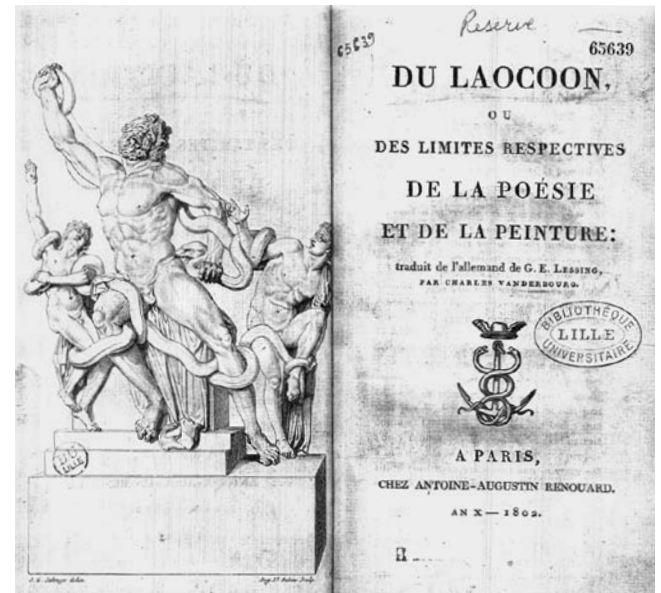
SALVAGE’S COLLABORATION WITH ÉMÉRIC-DAVID AND VANDERBOURG

His association with two prominent publications in the early 1800s bolstered Salvage’s career. About 1800, he met the scholar and historian Toussaint-Bernard Éméric-David, who was preparing an essay to be submitted for a literary competition announced by the Institut National in 1797 concerning the question “What can explain the perfection of antique sculpture, and what are the means of attaining it?” (*Quelles ont été les causes de la perfection de la Sculpture antique, et quels seraient les moyens d’y atteindre?*). Éméric-David’s essay won first prize, and a considerably

expanded version was finally published in 1805. A footnote in the text describes the author's close examination of Salvage's anatomized plaster copy of the head of the Apollo Belvedere and alludes to the preparation of the artist's treatise for publication.²⁰

Salvage's intensive anatomical investigations certainly supported Éméric-David's own central thesis that the Greeks had achieved a profound knowledge of the human body by means of dissection.²¹ From a political point of view, the Apollo Belvedere was also a particularly wise choice for such analysis. Having just been acquired by Napoleon in February 1797, it was brought to Paris in a triumphal procession the following year and prominently displayed in the Musée Central des Arts when the museum was inaugurated in 1800.²²

Salvage's work also gained notice when, in 1802, Charles Vanderbourg published a French translation of the seminal study by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing concerning the famous Greek sculptural group the Laocoön.²³ The statue had been confiscated as war booty from the Vatican in 1796, brought to Paris, and put on exhibit at the inauguration of the Musée Central des Arts (see Figure 3). Vanderbourg's publication included a frontispiece of the celebrated sculptural group



4. Augustin de Saint-Aubin (French, 1736–1807) after Jean-Galbert Salvage (French, 1770–1813). Frontispiece of Lessing 1802. Engraving

engraved by Augustin de Saint-Aubin, based on a drawing by Salvage (Figure 4). This illustration was noted with approval by Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy, the powerful secretary of the Classe des Beaux-Arts,²⁴ in a review published in the state daily newspaper, the *Moniteur universel*,²⁵ and it was reproduced again in the catalogue of the 1804 Salon, an occasion that also celebrated the opening to the public of the newly organized Galerie des Antiques.

REQUESTS AND DELAYS: SALVAGE AND THE CAST OF THE GLADIATOR

Emboldened by his collaboration with Éméric-David and Vanderbourg, in 1803 Salvage wrote to Jean-Antoine Chaptal, the minister of the interior, requesting one of the plaster casts of the Gladiator that the Musée Napoléon manufactured for sale. He was further encouraged by the visit of several members of the Classe des Beaux-Arts to his atelier in December 1803 and in 1804 wrote to the Institut asking for an official visit.²⁶

Salvage undoubtedly anticipated a favorable response from Chaptal, who had ardently supported the Revolution before the Reign of Terror, was a major figure in the scientific world, and had himself been trained as a doctor. Chaptal in turn requested that Dominique-Vivant Denon, director of the Musée Napoléon, send a plaster to the artist free of charge. Denon concurred, but no action ensued, prompting Salvage to repeat his request to Chaptal on January 19, 1804. Once again Denon agreed, but the shipment was delayed over the question of whether the cast



3. Hubert Robert (French, 1733–1808). *Drawing from the Antiquities: The Laocoön as Seen from La Salle des Saisons*, 1802–3. Oil on canvas, 14 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (37 x 46 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris (RF1964-35). Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

would be given or sold to Salvage. Almost a month later, Barbier Neuville, another bureaucrat, asked Chaptal to authorize delivery of the cast to Salvage, but a further delay arose over the question of who would pay for the shipping. Neuville then asked Chaptal to give it to Salvage gratis, or at a “fair price.” Chaptal again directed Denon to provide Salvage with the cast free of charge, and after another six months, the shipment was finally received.²⁷ At this point the process had lapsed into a bureaucratic runaround that was to continue for years. However, once the cast was in his possession, Salvage reworked it, carving it into an anatomized interpretation of the Gladiator (Figure 5), and created drawings to accompany this model based on his own dissections of corpses.²⁸ This figure was on display at the Musée Napoléon during the Salon of 1804, where Salvage made his official debut as an artist.

SALVAGE, THE SALON OF 1804, AND ENDORSEMENT BY THE CLASSE DES BEAUX-ARTS

Exhibited in two separate sections of the Salon of 1804, Salvage’s colored drawings and engraved plates of the various anatomical studies of the Gladiator (see Figure 6) were listed in the catalogue as *Peinture No. 417: Dessin d’anatomie du corps humain* (Anatomical Drawing of the Human Body) and *Gravure No. 865: Plusieurs gravures représentant le développement du mécanisme musculaire du Gladiateur combattant* (Several Engravings of the Fighting Gladiator’s Muscular Structure). The catalogue noted that Salvage’s *écorché* (see Figure 10) was displayed at the grand stairway leading to the Salon’s exhibition hall. All the members of the Classe des Beaux-Arts thus had the opportunity of seeing the work when they met on August 25 to discuss Salvage’s project before the official opening of the Salon on September 18.²⁹

On October 3, an anonymous article in the *Moniteur universel* gave Salvage’s exhibited work generous attention, and on October 27 a positive report was sent to the Classe des Beaux-Arts by the commissioners who had been dispatched to view it. They noted that it was promising but did not represent the complete book as projected, and recommended continued support of Salvage. On November 2, 1804, the *Moniteur universel* printed the proceedings of the Classe des Beaux-Arts, mentioning that Salvage’s project had been discussed and approved, and noting that his *écorché* of the Gladiator could be seen free of charge. Another article published on November 26 reported Salvage’s endorsement by the Institut National, an approval that would seem to have virtually guaranteed the success of his project.

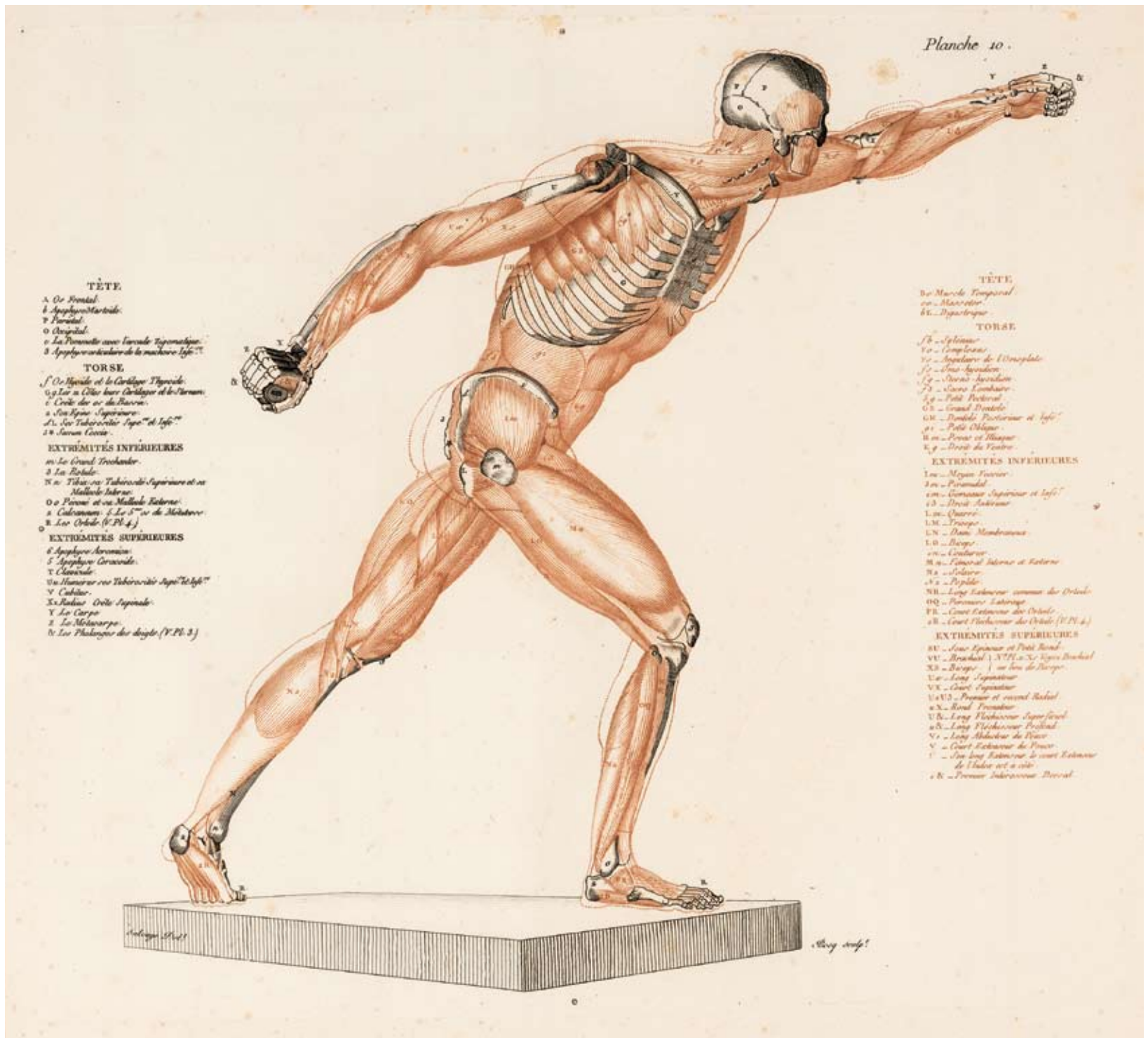
This last article also contained an announcement of Salvage’s plan to raise capital for his projected publication



by the sale of subscriptions, outlining what would be included in the first of four installments to be printed and delivered on about April 20, 1805, and the cost of each. The price depended on the quality of the paper chosen by the subscriber. Counterproofs would also be sold. Subscribers living outside of Paris could receive their orders by post, and foreign subscribers were also solicited. Miniature plaster casts of the Gladiator would be offered for sale at the home of the author at a future date, and the drawings would be available “chez M. Cussac, imprimeur-libraire [printer-bookseller], rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, no. 33.” Salvage also confidently told the reporter that when the Gladiator was completed, he intended to immerse himself in yet another project, an “anatomy of the horse, in the same manner as the human figure” (*anatomie du cheval, dans le même genre que celle de l’homme*).

Late in 1804, Joachim le Breton, secretary of the Classe des Beaux-Arts, wrote to Jean-Baptiste de Nompère de Champagny (who had replaced Chaptal as minister of the interior in August) to request that the state provide financial support for Salvage’s project.³⁰ In his reply, Champagny, a member of the nobility who had rallied to the Republic, agreed that Salvage’s work was admirable but reported that

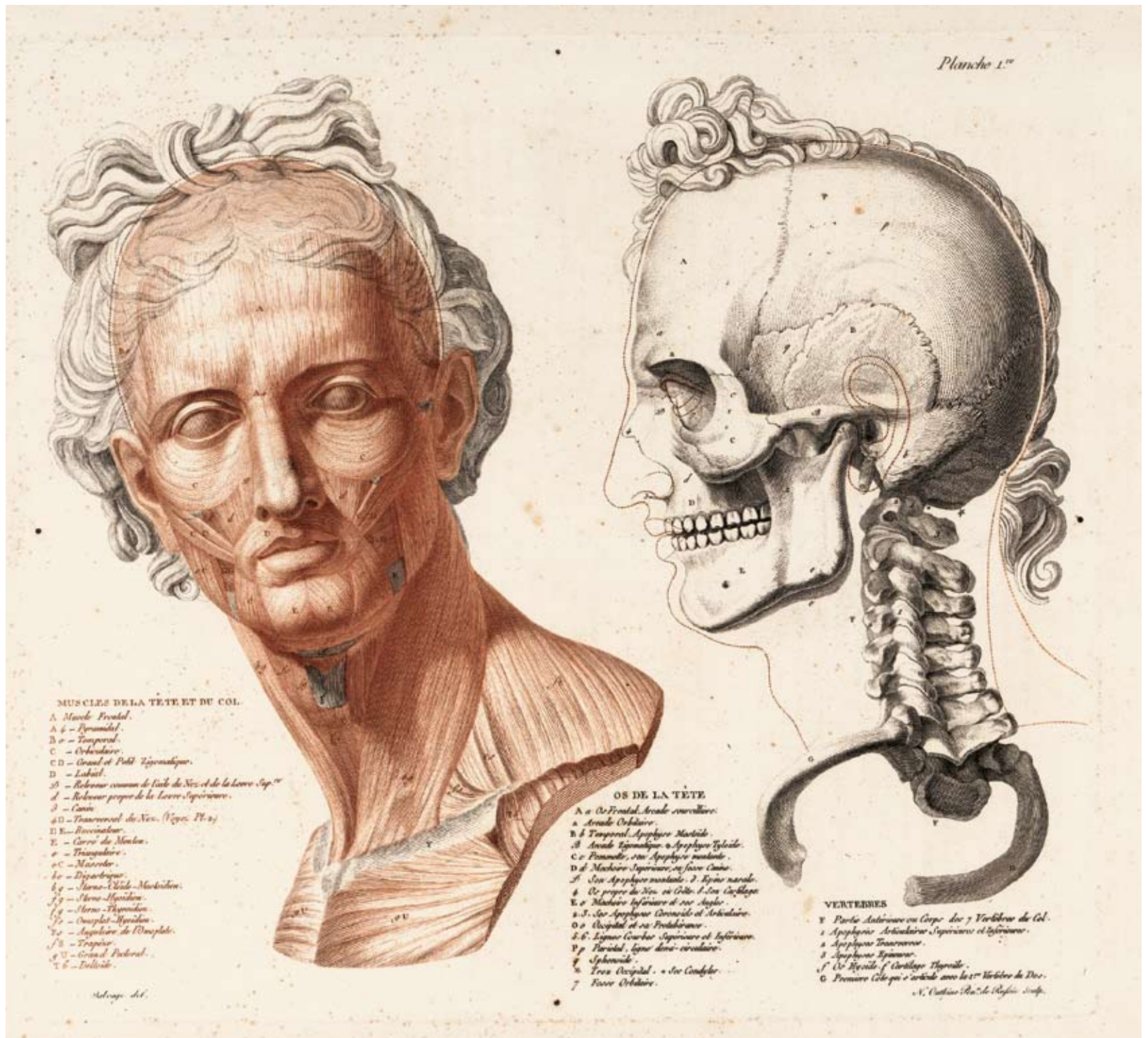
5. Jean-Galbert Salvage (French, 1770–1813). *Écorché of the “Borghese Gladiator,”* 1804. Plaster, 59 x 61⁷/₈ x 78³/₈ in. (150 x 157 x 199 cm). École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Département de Morphologie (MU 11927)



6. Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* (Paris, 1812), plate 10: Right profile of anatomized "Gladiator." Engraving. Folio volume: 74 pages illustrated with 22 copperplates printed in black and red ink, bound in red boards, red leather spine with gold-stamped ornament; 24¾ x 17¾ x 1⅛ in. (62 x 45 x 3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1952 (52.546.4)

since funds for the arts were already exhausted for that year and public subscription would surely provide Salvage sufficient means, the work did not need a subsidy.³¹ Salvage continued his efforts on the publication nevertheless, and by September 1805, both the second and third installments had become available to subscribers.³²

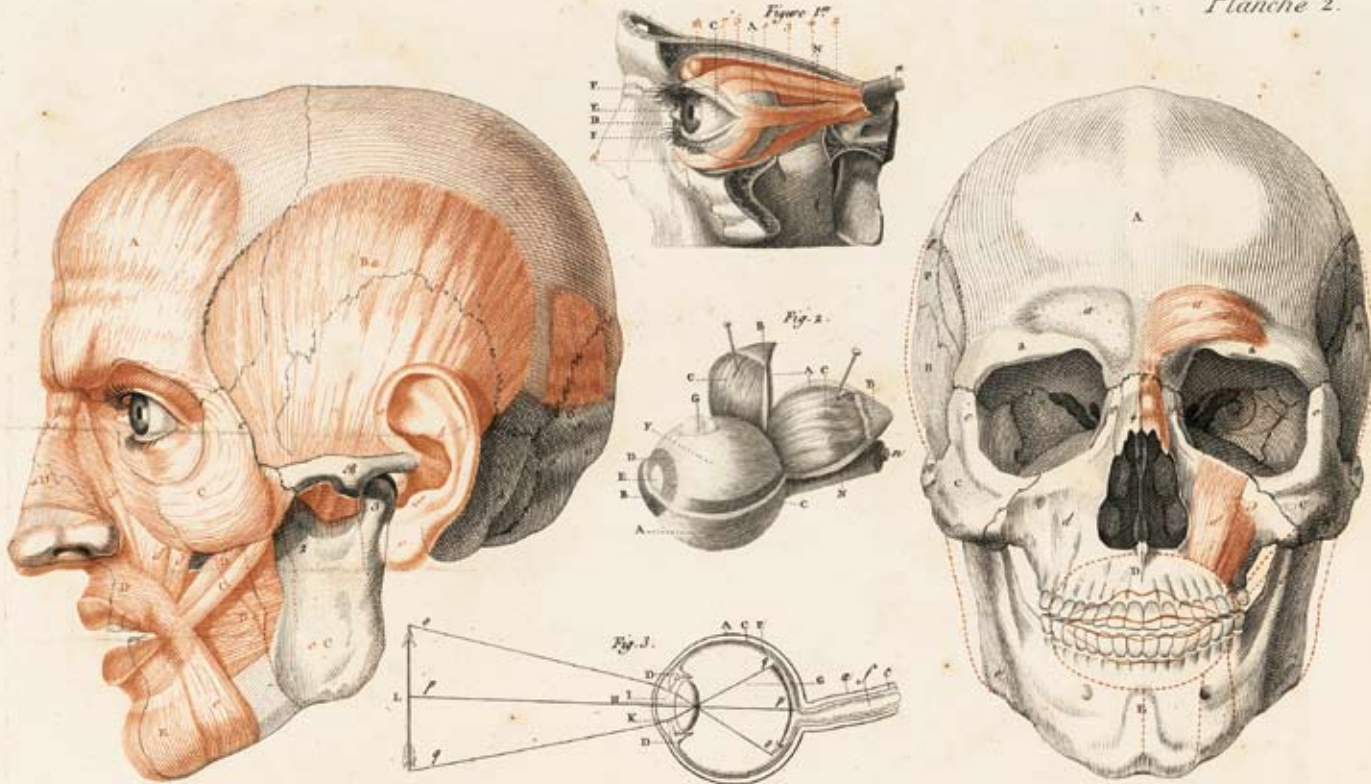
Salvage had reason to expect that his work would be a success, because none of the many currently available anatomy texts treated the topic as thoroughly or in the same manner as his *Anatomie*. One such work, Gérard Audran's *Les proportions du corps humain, mesurées sur les plus belles figures de l'antiquité* of 1683, presented anatomy as



7. Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* (Paris, 1812; see Figure 6), plate 1: *Muscles of the Head and Neck; Skull*. Engraving

the study of classical sculpture graphically analyzed in terms of measurements; its 1801 edition had been explicitly endorsed as a teaching tool in French art schools. Another, by Jean-Joseph Sue (1760–1830), *Éléments d'anatomie à l'usage des peintres, des sculpteurs et des amateurs* of 1788, was being used as a textbook in classes at the École des

Beaux-Arts. Yet another conventional work was Johann Heinrich Lavater's German treatise, available in French since 1797. Numerous other publications that addressed anatomy and the representation of the body had been produced in Italy and made available in France.³³ One possible actual model for Salvage's project may have been a treatise



MUSCLES DE LA TÊTE

- 3. Muscle Frontal, & Circulaire.
 - 4. Pyramidal.
 - 5. Temporal.
 - 6. Orbiculaire.
 - 7. Grand et Petit Triangulaire.
 - 8. Labial.
 - 9. Robour commun de l'Os de Nez et de la lèvre supérieure.
 - 10. Robour de la lèvre supérieure et Canin.
 - 11. Buccinateur.
 - 12. Carré du Menton, & le Triangulaire.
 - 13. Le Masséter est entouré de trois pointille, on indique sa situation et ses attaches.
 - 14. Occipital, c'est par son apophyse commune au Frontal qu'on le nomme Muscle Occipito-Frontal.
 - 15. Transversal du Nez.
- DE L'OREILLE
- a. L'Ellipse, il fait tout le contour de l'Oraille.
 - b. L'Ellipsoïde ou second contour du dedans de l'Oraille.
 - c. Le Tragus.
 - d. L'Antitragus.
 - e. La Lobule.
 - f. La Coupe.
- (Les Muscles de l'Oraille sont très étendus dans l'Homme pour qu'il en soit si qu'on en.)
- Salvage Del.

DE L'ORGANE DE L'ŒIL.

- Figure 1^{re}
- Pour donner une juste idée de la situation de l'œil dans l'orbite, on a enlevé le Crâne et une Partie de l'Os de la Pomme.
- A. Globe de l'œil, Membrane Sclérique ou 1^{re} Tunique.
 - C. Cornée Opaque, D. Iri.
 - E. Pupille ou trou qui produit la contraction de l'Iri.
 - F. Pupillière Supérieure et Inférieure.
 - N. Membrane Dure-mère, Tunique du Nerf Optique, n. Nerf Optique.
- Figure 2
- Elle représente le Globe de l'œil dessiné ou l'on découvre les membranes qui le recouvrent.
- A. Sclérique dont deux lambeaux sont renversés.
 - B. Cornée transparente dont deux lambeaux sont également renversés.
 - C. Membrane Choroidé ou 2^{de} Tunique, D. Iri.
 - E. Pupille ou ouverture de l'Iri à travers laquelle va voir le Cristallin.
 - F. Membrane rétiné ou 3^{de} Tunique.
 - G. Humour Vitreux qui s'échappe par un trou fait accidentellement.
 - N. Membrane Dure-mère, Tunique du Nerf Optique, n. Nerf Optique.
- Figure 3
- Elle montre le rapport des Membranes et la manière dont les Rayons lumineux se réfléchissent dans l'œil.
- A. Sclérique, formant la Cornée transparente, a. Dure-mère.
 - C. Membrane Choroidé, D. Iri, e. Dure-mère ou 2^{de} Tunique du Nerf Optique.
 - F. Membrane Rétiné, f. Nerf Optique.
 - G. Humour Vitreux qui occupe tout le milieu de cette figure depuis...
 - H. Cristallin, joyau ou trait pointillé.
 - IK. Chambre Antérieure et Postérieure occupée par l'Humour aqueux.
 - L. Fleche dont les rayons lumineux o. p. q. entrent dans l'œil et se renouvellent pour produire la même image ou son contraire.

OS DE LA TÊTE

- A. Os Frontal, Arête Sourcillière.
 - a. Arcade Orbitaire qui s'achève par un angle et se rejoint avec l'Apophyse montante de l'Os de la Pomme.
 - B. Os Temporal, Apophyse mastoïde.
 - 3. Arcade Zygomatic.
 - c. Pomme de la face, son Apophyse montante.
 - D. Os Maxillaire Supérieur, son sillon Canin et son Apophyse montante.
 - E. Os Maxillaire Inférieur et son Angle.
 - 2.3. Apophyse Coronale et Articulaires (l'une et l'autre Maxillaire sont ornées de 16 petites os bris blancs qui forment le bord Dentaire).
 - 4. Os propre du Nez ou Crête.
 - V. Os Pariétal, ligne demi-circulaire.
 - 6. Os Occipital, et os Protubérance.
 - 5.6. Lignes Courbes Supérieure et Inférieure.
 - 7. Foras Orbitaires.
 - 8. Foras Nasales.
- MUSCLES DE L'ŒIL.
- 1. Muscle Droit Supérieur.
 - 2. Droit Inférieur.
 - 3. Droit Interne.
 - 4. Droit Externe.
 - 5. Oblique Supérieur & Foras Carthyagmeuse, Body Scip'is.
 - 6. Oblique Inférieur & Robour de la Pupillière Supérieure.

8. Jean-Galbert Salvage. Anatomie du gladiateur combattant (Paris, 1812; see Figure 6), plate 2: Muscles of the Head, of the Ear and Eye; Bones of the Head. Engraving

published in 1741 by Edme Bouchardon (1698–1762)—the distinguished sculptor and draftsman, and a leading member of the Académie de Peinture et de Sculpture—which included engravings based on the artist's drawings offered along with a small-scale replica of his *écorché* of 1762.³⁴

Modern scholars qualify *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* as an atlas of great beauty and quality. Its sophisticated and effective use of color as an illustrative device (see Figures 7, 8) made it one of the most attractive books of anatomy for artists, the most copiously illustrated atlas then

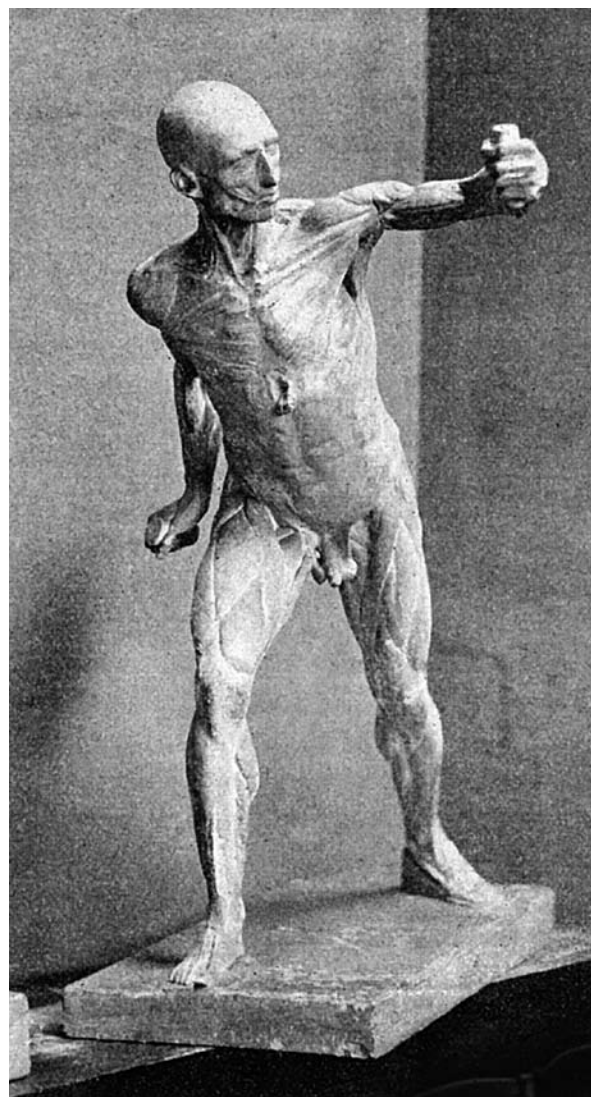
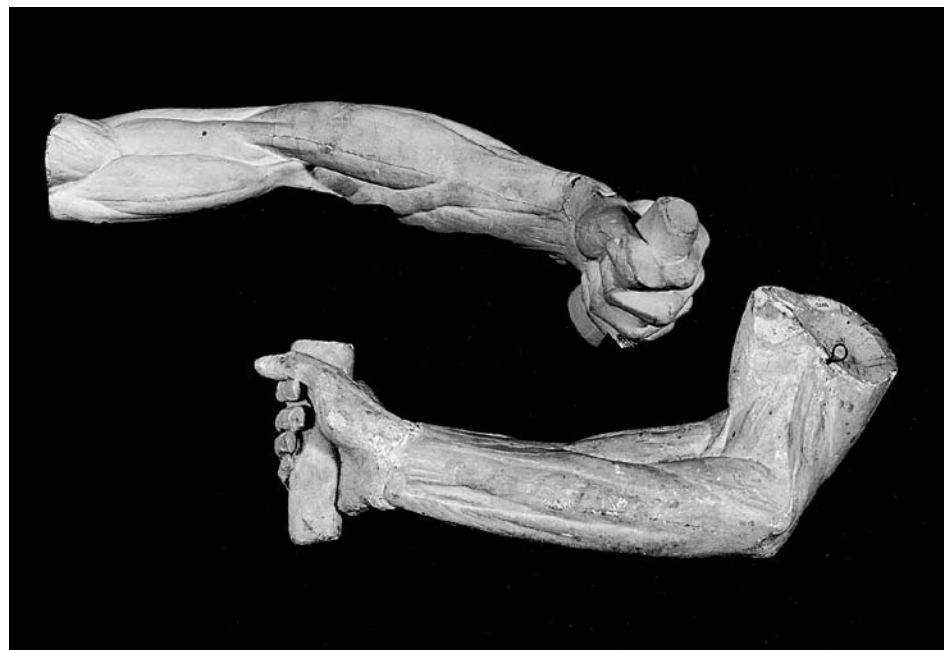
available.³⁵ Eleven plates displayed the Gladiator's anatomical structure in four views (see Figures 6, 21–30), from skeleton to visible exterior. Seven essays, four of them illustrated, extended the didactic use of the atlas. In these texts, Salvage placed the human figure within a social context that encompassed movement (Figure 33), the body at rest, proportion (Figure 34), age, temperament, moods, and passions—then considered (in the dawn of modern social sciences) to be humanity's fundamental traits, scientifically and artistically.³⁶

SALVAGE'S TENURE AT THE MILITARY HOSPITAL

By the end of 1804, Salvage had worked at the hospital for eight years. His privileged access to the facilities there was essential for the early development of his ideas because it enabled him to dissect the bodies of soldiers who died there. He later described this punishing work in gruesome detail:

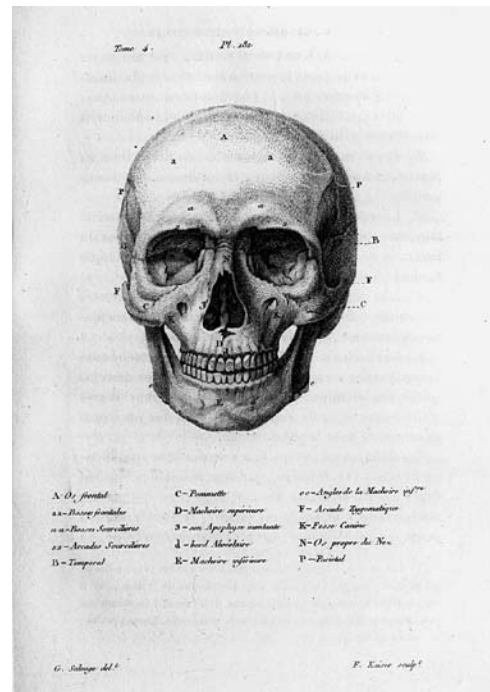
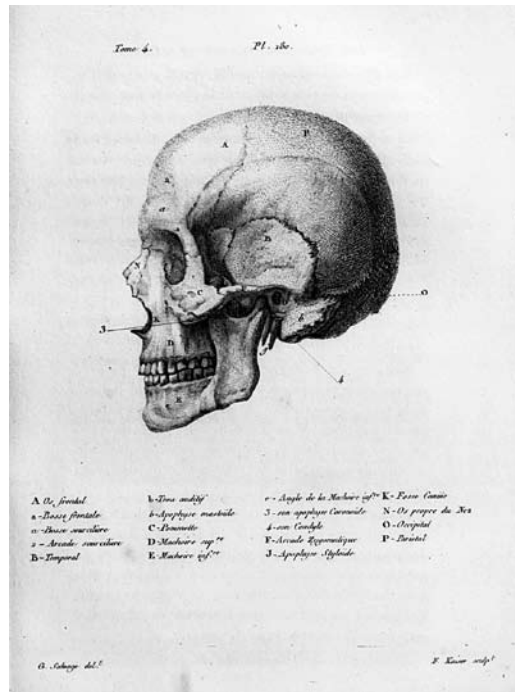
One of the greatest obstacles associated with this type of work for me was to procure subjects whose physical form had not deteriorated through long illness; I therefore had to select them among our soldiers whose bravery, too often quarrelsome, had caused them to die in private duels; finally, after several fruitless attempts, I managed to obtain, at different times, three figures molded from such subjects. These figures represent the different muscle layers that compose the human body, from the outermost, which borders the skin, to the deepest, located right alongside the bones. These figures are posed in the attitude of the Gladiator, and it is owing to them that I was able to analyze the movement of this antique statue, of which I had anatomized a plaster impression.³⁷

By 1800, some artists commonly practiced processes used by the surgeon-anatomist³⁸ involving autopsy, dissection, embalming, and direct casting from human parts. Many of these techniques had been described in detail fifty years earlier by Pierre Tarin in a treatise concerning the art of *anthropotomie* (human anatomy), a process by which chemicals were used to preserve anatomical parts taken from cadavers (including internal organs) in a solid state.³⁹ A cast could then be made and reproduced in plaster or other materials (see Figure 9). Flayed cadavers, or their parts, thus became the basis for life casts, such as the one Salvage employed (Figure 10) to create many of the drawings in his book.⁴⁰ The practice of dissecting corpses was physically dangerous, since the spread of infectious agents to the dissecting physicians was not understood. Tuberculosis in particular—known as *phtisie*, then incurable—posed a

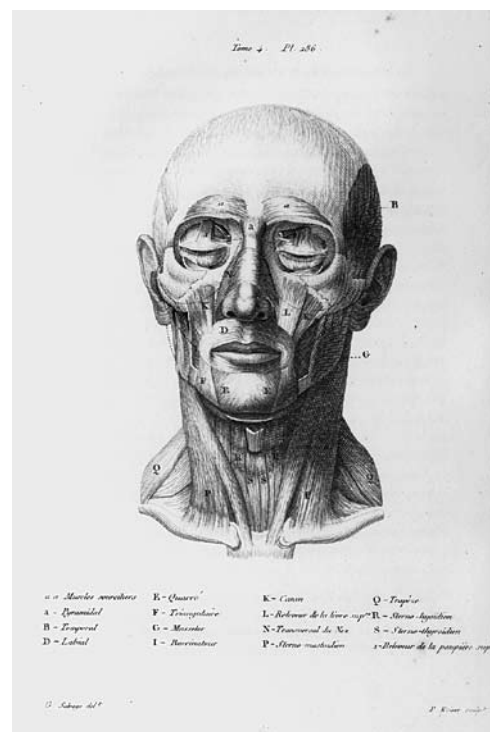
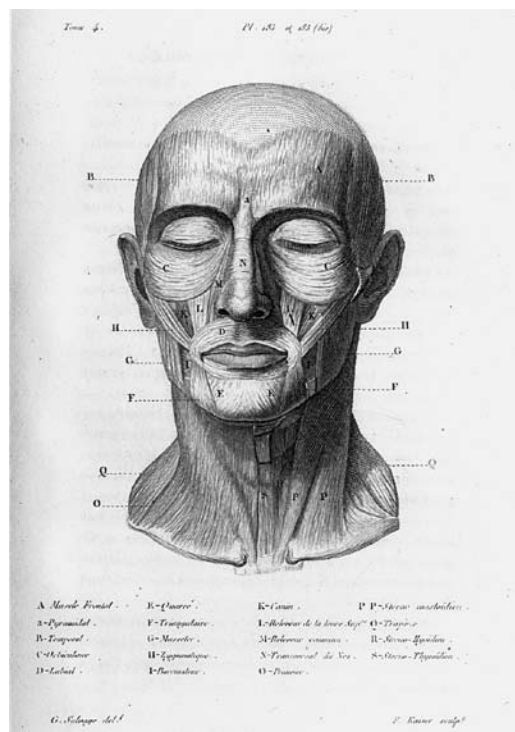


9. Jean-Galbert Salvage.
Two studies of arms, ca. 1800.
Plaster, 3 1/2 x 6 1/8 x 18 1/4 in.
(9 x 15.5 x 46.5 cm), 4 7/8 x 4 x
18 7/8 in. (12.5 x 10 x 48 cm).
École National Supérieure des
Beaux-Arts, Paris, Département
de Morphologie (MU 12051).
Photograph: Raymond Lifchez

10. Jean-Galbert Salvage.
Écorché after a Corpse.
Photograph: Duval and
Cuyer 1898, p. 186



11, 12. After Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Human Skull: Lateral and Frontal Views*. Lavater 1806–9, vol. 4, pls. 180, 181

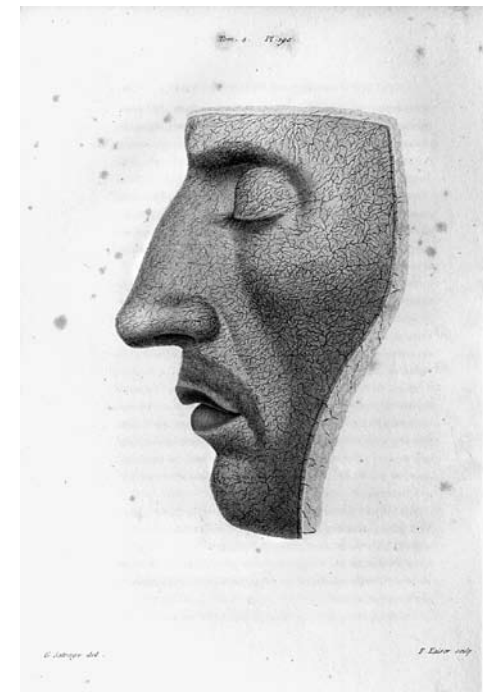
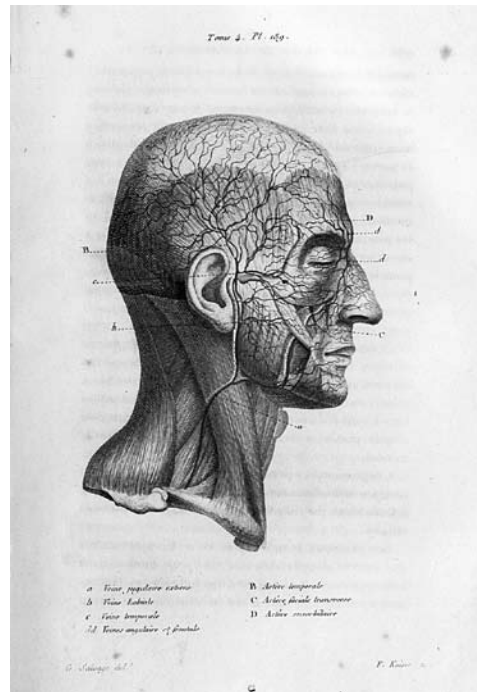
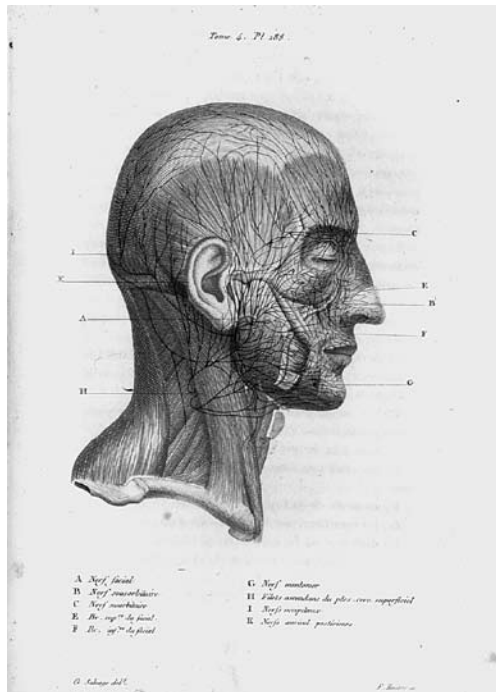


13, 14. After Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Human Head: Superficial and Deep Muscles*. Lavater 1806–9, vol. 4, pls. 185, 186

threat to dissectors, since bacteria passed into the air as soon as a cadaver was opened. Salvage paid a high price when he contracted *phthisie*, from which he would die in less than a decade.

Officiers de santé (literally, “health officials,” as physicians were called in revolutionary France) at military hospitals were chosen for their medical skills in treating the wounded, but they were also expected to conduct research useful to the

military. Because Salvage’s project accomplished neither of these goals, his divided pursuits as physician and as artist ultimately caused a problem at the hospital. He had already been reprimanded for taking unauthorized time away from the hospital, apparently working on his publication in an atelier he had taken in the rue de Lille, and in the wake of a general reorganization of military hospitals beginning in 1803,⁴¹ Salvage was reassigned on November 8, 1804, to the



15, 16. After Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Human Face: Superficial and Deep Vessels and Nerves*. Lavater 1806–9, vol. 4, pls. 188, 189

17. After Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Network of Vessels beneath the Skin (Self-Portrait)*. Lavater 1806–9, vol. 4, pl. 190

6e Régiment de Dragons, stationed outside of Paris.⁴² In a letter to the Interior Ministry dated October 2, 1805, Salvage asserted that his project could be accomplished only by someone like himself, “physician, painter, and sculptor all in one,” and that his work had cost him nine years of study, pain, and physical illness. He went on to request a discharge instead of a transfer, in order to complete “this unique publication, with which I would henceforth be of more use to society than a low-ranking surgeon could be.”⁴³ At this time his confidence was still relatively high: he had successfully delivered the third installment of the subscription and was planning a fifth, in which he proposed to address the “laws of physics with a simple and easy method.”

SALVAGE’S COLLABORATION WITH J.-L. MOREAU DE LA SARTHE

His request for a discharge granted, Salvage found himself without a stipend and in serious debt. It was at this point that he had the good fortune to receive a commission to create drawings for a prestigious work edited by a prominent figure in the Parisian medical community. Between 1805 and 1809, Jacques-Louis Moreau de la Sarthe, professor at the École de Médecine in Paris, edited a French translation of Johann Caspar Lavater’s famous study *Physiognomische Fragmente zur Beförderung der Menschen-*

kennniß und Menschenliebe, which had originally been published in four volumes from 1775 to 1778. The new French edition was a much-expanded translation in ten volumes, titled *L’art de connaître les hommes par la physiognomie*.⁴⁴ Salvage contributed seven illustrations, which appeared in the fourth volume, first published in 1806 (Figures 11–17).

His intricate drawings display Salvage’s skill as an artist and his medical knowledge of anatomical and physiological systems, from the skeleton to the network of vessels below the surface of the skin. Moreau de la Sarthe used them to illustrate a text in which it was argued that physiological knowledge was necessary for an artist to represent human emotions accurately, and that the human body must be studied from the “inside out,” from the skeleton to the visible exterior. Yet Salvage’s illustrations also reveal a deeper knowledge of anatomical elements in their relationship to physiological systems: three images depict the circulation of the blood in the head and the capillary action that produces reddening or pallor when emotions become excited.⁴⁵ In one of these (Figure 17), Salvage used his own profile to illustrate the accompanying text. The close collaboration with Moreau de la Sarthe undoubtedly contributed significantly to Salvage’s conception of his own project as an innovative one that would cross the boundary between artistic anatomy and scientific physiology.

FINALLY, FUNDING FROM THE STATE

As early as January 25, 1805, Salvage had acknowledged his ill health and reiterated his acute need for financial assistance to complete his ambitious project. More than a year later, he had apparently obtained little relief: in an internal memo to Champagny dated February 8, 1806, a deputy alluded to Salvage's earlier message and urged the minister to send the artist 600 francs.⁴⁶ Champagny accepted this advice but reduced the sum to 400 francs. On June 30, Salvage reported to the minister that the fourth installment had been completed but claimed that an additional 6,000 to 7,000 francs was necessary for completion of a fifth and final one—a sum that was not accorded.⁴⁷ Six months later, in January 1807, the increasingly desperate Salvage finally requested that the ministry support his project by subscription, rather than by stipends.⁴⁸

By August 1807, Emmanuel Crétet de Champmol had replaced Champagny as minister of the interior, a development that may account for a change in the ministry's response to Salvage. In early October, when Salvage again requested 6,000 francs,⁴⁹ Crétet decided that the ministry would subscribe to his publication and that henceforth payments would correspond to a prescribed number of copies to be deposited there. An initial subscription was ordered for sixty copies on ordinary paper at 36 francs each and thirty copies on vellum at 72 francs each, for a total of 4,320 francs. Crétet authorized a disbursement of 5,400 francs but stipulated that the sum of 1,080 was to be withheld until all five installments had been delivered, with the understanding that this final amount would cover the subscription cost for the ninety copies of the last installment.⁵⁰ A few weeks later, the Classe des Beaux-Arts endorsed the minister's decision to take the subscription but argued that the sum should be increased to 6,000 francs.⁵¹ In December Salvage received the 4,320 francs due for the four installments but stated that he would need 2,400 more because the work included additional plates.⁵²

The struggle for funding dragged on for the next four years, while Salvage continued to produce illustrations for the fifth installment, borrowing money to purchase materials and pay engravers. His new work was exhibited in the Salon of 1808. When the Salon opened, Napoleon made use of the occasion to recognize artists whose work he particularly admired, and Salvage was one of several artists awarded *médailles d'encouragement* (medals of encouragement).⁵³ He must have been particularly gratified that his drawing of the Laocoön, which had originally been engraved for the frontispiece of Vanderbourg's translation of Lessing's treatise in 1802 (see Figure 4), was reprinted on the cover of the Salon catalogue.

The distinction of Salvage's *médaille d'encouragement* may have prompted the new minister of the interior,

Jean-Pierre Bachasson, comte de Montalivet, to act on the artist's behalf. In July 1810, he asked Jean-Joseph Sue and Dominique-Vivant Denon, director of the Musée Napoléon, to organize special commissions that would “give their opinion as to both the degree to which [Salvage's] work could be considered [useful] to those who engage in the study of painting and sculpture, and what would seem a fair price for his work.”⁵⁴

On August 21, Sue's commission, comprising teachers from the École des Beaux-Arts, recommended that Salvage's project should be purchased for 35,000 francs, although reservations were expressed concerning the accuracy of certain drawings and some members regarded portions of the text as more suitable for the teaching of medicine than for the instruction of art.⁵⁵ On September 15, 1810, responding to a memo from Montalivet objecting to the price of 35,000 francs, his superior Barbier Neuville reminded the minister that the last advance of 5,400 francs for ninety copies of the drawings had been authorized on October 8, 1807, but only 4,320 had been paid to Salvage, with the balance of 1,080 to be paid on delivery of the fifth installment. Barbier Neuville now suggested that Salvage be asked how much more money would be needed to complete the project.⁵⁶ Salvage responded to the minister of the interior on October 3, 1810, with an itemized list of expenses totaling 11,000 francs.⁵⁷ Montalivet answered that he was still awaiting the opinions of Denon's commission to examine the project and would take no action until he heard from them.⁵⁸ On October 17, Montalivet received their report, in which it was recommended that 18,000 francs be paid to Salvage for six anatomical figures and the anatomized head of Apollo.⁵⁹

Haggling over the sum to be paid to Salvage continued in numerous memos exchanged between the minister and the artist from April to December 1811. In an April report, a ministry employee claimed to have seen Salvage “wandering about” in distress and complaining that he was pursued by creditors, turned out of his residence, and famished. The employee told Neuville that he had given Salvage money to keep him from committing suicide.⁶⁰ Finally, in another internal memo dated December 24, 1811, the state agreed to purchase the entire work, which by then included the text in addition to drawings and the anatomical figures. Of the artwork, Montalivet acknowledged that Salvage had delivered one skeleton and two anatomical studies of the head of Apollo to the École des Beaux-Arts, where they remain today. For these Salvage was paid 3,000 of the 12,000 francs that had apparently been promised earlier.⁶¹

By May 1, 1812, Salvage had received the remaining 9,000 francs and reported to the minister that his treatise had finally been published in April (Figures 18–35)⁶² and had received enthusiastic reviews in the Paris press.⁶³ He

18–35 (following three pages). Plates from Jean-Galbert Salvage, *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* (Paris, 1812). Folio volume: 74 pages illustrated with 22 copperplates printed in black and red ink, bound in red boards, red leather spine with gold-stamped ornament; 24³/₈ x 17³/₄ x 1¹/₈ in. (62 x 45 x 3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lincoln Kirstein, 1952 (52.546.4)



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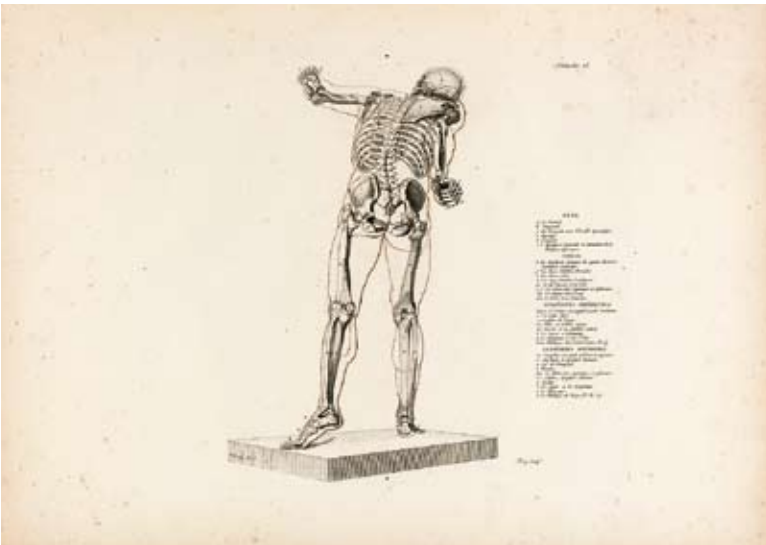
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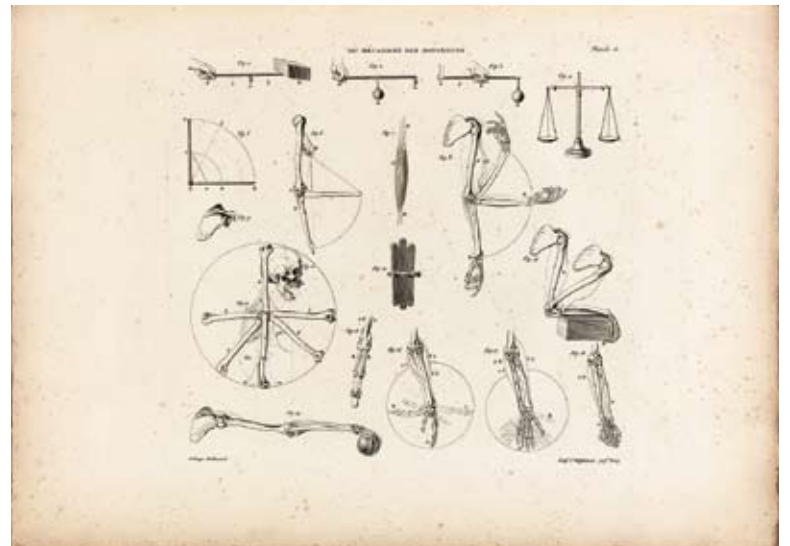
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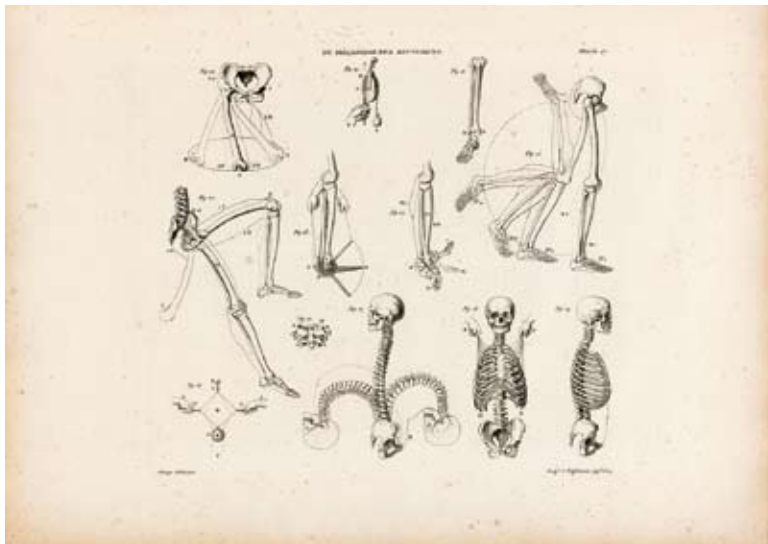
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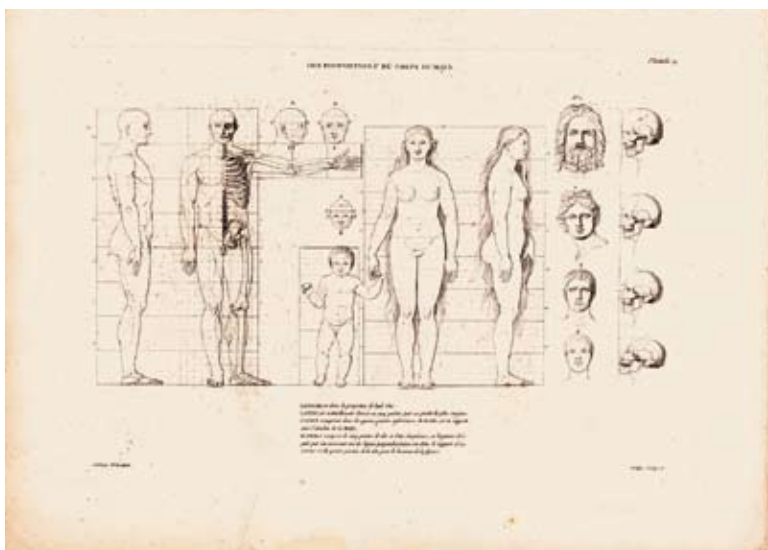
31. Articulation of Movement



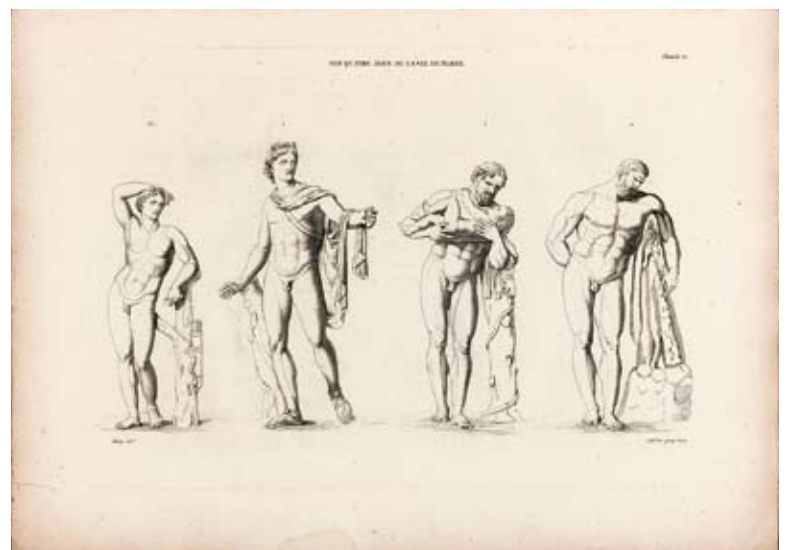
32. Articulation of Movement



33. Analysis of Movement



34. Comparative Anatomy



35. Four Stages of Man's Life

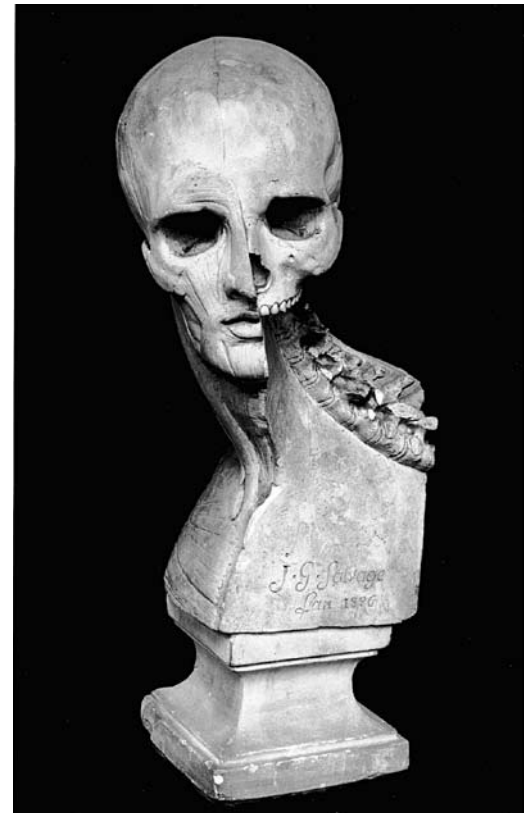
requested another 6,210 francs, for sixty copies printed on paper and sixteen extra copies on vellum. The Classe des Beaux-Arts, pleased with the reception of the fifth installment, again came to Salvage's aid and requested further funding from the ministry,⁶⁴ but continuing correspondence among Salvage, Neuville, and Montalivet over the next two months did not result in any additional payments to the artist. More than a year later, in an effort to improve his health, Salvage left Paris for the Cantal to be with his family. He died of consumption on September 18, 1813, in La Rochette de Lavastrie, at the home of his brother-in-law, James Odoul, near the farm where he was born.⁶⁵

THE AFTERMATH

Salvage's debts came to the attention of city government in 1818 when a creditor, Sieur Martin, approached the Tribunal of the Seine seeking restitution. Martin had lent money to Salvage's cousin Toussaint Salvage of Paris, who, in turn, had made a loan to the artist.⁶⁶ Martin requested an investigation and the appointment of a *conservateur* (curator),⁶⁷ assuming that furniture and other goods belonging to Salvage could be found and sold for his compensation.

The tribunal's investigation opened on December 1, 1818. Notaries and a curator of the Department of the Seine were dispatched to Salvage's last known residence in Paris at 6, cul-de-sac Saint-Dominique d'Enfer. There they met with the concierge of the building, who told them that Salvage had left Paris owing considerable back rent to the proprietor, Comte Duleau. They were also told that all the furnishings had been removed by Jean Cussac, Salvage's printer and bookseller, shortly after Salvage's death. The officials then proceeded to the Cussac residence at 30, rue Montmartre, where the printer's widow, Dame Anne-Elizabeth Legay, permitted them to see the materials her husband had taken in lieu of payment for debts incurred in the book's production. They found, scattered about in various parts of the house, twenty-one completed copies of the book and a large quantity of copies, some with and some without the text, the frontispiece, or the introduction, along with several hundred copies of the illustrations. They also discovered a mold and plaster casts showing fourteen stages of anatomization of the head of the Apollo Belvedere (Figure 36), four *écorché* models of the Gladiator, and several small plaster figures—in all, estimated to be worth 3,025 francs—and a complete skeleton, valued at 25 francs, of Borreze, former drummer of the Directoire guard.⁶⁸

In addition, Mme Legay Cussac provided the officials with records that detailed the daily expenses of Salvage's mounting debts. Among them was his handwritten "État de mes propres affaires," an annotated list of debts that totaled



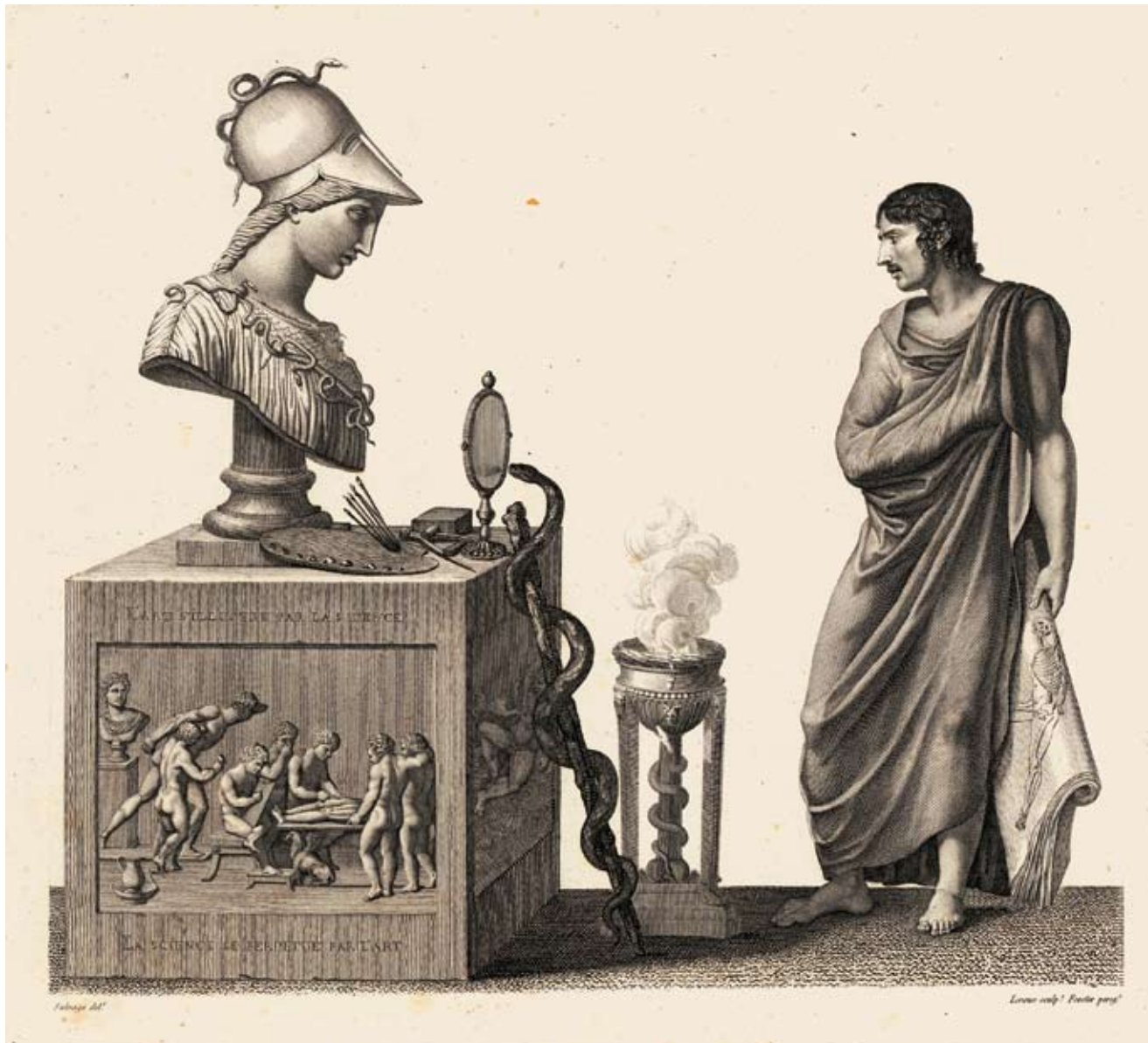
36. Jean-Galbert Salvage. *Anatomized Head of the Apollo Belvedere*, 1806. Plaster, h. 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (67 cm). École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Département de Morphologie (MU 11923). Photograph: Raymond Lifchez

3,168 francs owed to his tailor, boot maker, grocer, laundress, and a circle of widows who had lent him money with interest. The file culminated with an invoice for the debts Salvage owed his last landlord, Comte Duleau, for his lodgings in the cul-de-sac Saint-Dominique d'Enfer, which amounted to 120 francs, with an additional 9 francs owed to the concierge, and 3 francs, 63 centimes, due for window and door taxes.⁶⁹

There was never any suggestion that Salvage's *Anatomie* would be used as a textbook at the École Centrale des Arts, and it never was. From 1804 until Salvage's death, the contents of the book were on sale by subscription. According to the *Moniteur universel*, installments were delivered to subscribers periodically, and the endorsement of the work by the Classe des Beaux-Arts was frequently reiterated. Even though there were too few subscribers to support the cost of production, much less yield a profit (as the author's accrued debts testify), Salvage attributed its lack of commercial success to the ongoing Napoleonic wars.

In the end, the reasons why Salvage had to wait so long for the state support he requested are complex. The primary

37. Jean-Galbert Salvage.
Anatomie du gladiateur combattant (Paris, 1812;
see Figures 6–8, 18–35),
frontispiece



explanation may have been bureaucratic inertia or, as sometimes mentioned in the correspondence, a shortfall in the ministry's annual budget for the arts. Or perhaps it was a question of the state bureaucracy's shifting policies, interests, and personnel; from his first appeal in 1803 until 1812, when the work was finally published, Salvage had to engage the interest of four successive ministers—Chaptal, Champagny, Crétet, and Montalivet. His failing health may have raised doubts that the project would actually be completed: he was physically and mentally drained by consumption, and there were periods when he did not work on the *Anatomie* at all. It would require further research to

determine whether his case was a typical example of bureaucratic inefficiency or of the gap between the political reality and the proclaimed goals of rewarding merit through patronage, but even cursory study of other archival documents pertaining to the fine arts reveals that it was not unusual for artists to wait to be paid for commissioned work long after a project had been completed. Éméric-David himself had to pay for the printing of his *Recherches sur l'art statuaire* in 1805 and still had not been reimbursed by the state as late as 1812.⁷⁰

Salvage sought to bring scientific knowledge to improve the practice of art and to diminish the divide between the



38. Detail of Figure 37, showing Salvage's self-portrait

arts and the sciences—aims shared by the bible of the Enlightenment, Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*. Aware of his special status as a physician, surgeon, and artist, Salvage frequently insisted that he alone could make the necessary connections between science and art that would liberate the artist's imagination. His project and his contributions to Moreau de la Sarthe's edition of Lavater were informed and inspired by the moment in time in which he worked. As John Lesch points out, between 1790 and 1821, physiology in France achieved self-definition as a science, a degree of autonomy from medicine, and official recognition from the scientific world. Closely linked with anatomy, physiology took as its primary goal the elucidation of the interdependent functions of

living organisms through observation and experimentation. Salvage's project, which sought to illustrate the interdependence of anatomical structural elements and the body's movement, may be seen in light of the development of modern physiology.⁷¹

The question of how artists acquire knowledge of the human body in order to represent it was a long-debated subject in art theory and practice.⁷² Both Salvage and Éméric-David subscribed to the theory that the treatment of the figure in the best of classical art shows sculptors' superb knowledge of the body. Certainly, those sculptors acquired their knowledge through observing living figures,⁷³ and Salvage and Éméric-David alike argued that classical artists were also informed and inspired by a more detailed knowledge of the body obtained through the processes of human dissection.

Salvage's thesis, that the French artist can match the grandeur of the works of classical sculptors in representing the human body if the anatomical structures animating classical works can be revealed and demonstrated, is reflected in his magisterial collection of anatomically detailed, annotated drawings explicating the composition of the human structure. In a certain light, one may view his highly detailed *Anatomie* as a text to guide artists in their own exploration of the human body through the process of dissection.

Rather than dwell on the struggles of a lonely genius failed by society, one might remember Salvage in the way that he himself wished to be viewed by posterity. He summed up the meaning of his life's work in an image that serves as the frontispiece of his book (Figure 37), which he dedicated to "the shades of Agasias, son of Dositheus and citizen of Ephesus, author of the statue of the gladiator" (manès d'Agasias, fils de Dosithee et citoyen d'Ephèse, auteur de la statue du Gladiateur). It contains a self-portrait of Salvage, standing before an altar on which is placed a bust of Pallas Athena (Figure 38). He holds a sheaf of drawings and wears a toga. Carved on the side of the altar is a relief of his alter ego, Agasias, at work on his famous statue next to a cadaver on a dissecting table. Leaning against the altar is a caduceus, or serpent entwined around a staff, an emblem associated with Asclepius, the Greek god of medicine and son of Apollo, who represented the rational and civilized side of human nature in Greek mythology. All three—Athena, serpent, and Salvage—gaze intently at a mirror, a traditional emblem of Truth. For Salvage, the means of attaining this elusive goal lay in the reciprocal bond between science and the arts, and between classical antiquity and the modern world. Two sentences inscribed on the altar underscore the emblematic message: "L'ART S'ILLUSTRE PAR LA SCIENCE" (Art gains luster from science) and "LA SCIENCE SE PERPÉTUE PAR L'ART" (Science endures through art).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Jean-Galbert Salvage and his *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant* had engaged my interest since 1993, when on a holiday afternoon enjoying the holdings of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century anatomical folios in the collection of the Bibliothèque Forney in Paris, I was introduced to this amazing work. I was immediately curious about its author, whom I had not heard of despite my acquaintance with the genre, and was informed that Salvage's *Anatomie* was hardly an undiscovered treasure. Yet popular and scholarly literature were shy of his history, typically citing only what was necessary to establish his authorship. This article is but one outcome of an intermittent but nevertheless stimulating and immensely enjoyable attempt to tell the Salvage story. There are many who assisted in my pursuit of this project. To begin at the beginning:

Meredith Shedd-Diskol's dissertation, "T. B. Éméric-David and the Criticism of Ancient Sculpture in France: 1790–1839" (Berkeley, 1980), was the touchstone for my own inquiry, and her subsequent publications, and friendship, have informed and inspired my project. Matthew Gerber, over many months while still a graduate student in the History Department at Berkeley, ably and patiently assisted in deciphering the hand-scripted metalanguage of documents from nineteenth-century French bureaucracies to develop one aspect of the Salvage story, in itself much larger than the one I have chosen to tell.

Donald Pistolesi of Montreal was throughout a patient counselor and editor as I sought to produce a manuscript from the vast amount of data I had collected. Carla Hesse, Loren Partridge, Myra Rosenfeld Little, and Michael Driskol each read the manuscript as it was being developed, offering advice and broadening my understanding of the political culture in which Salvage worked in order to better focus the text. Colta Ives, Curator of Drawings and Prints at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, kindly assisted in securing permission from museums and libraries to reproduce the illustrations. It was she who introduced the manuscript to the editorial board of this publication.

In addition, I warmly acknowledge the personnel of the archives who contributed substantially to my project through their generous, personal attention: Alain Chabrat, Archives du Cantal, Aurillac; Jean-François Debord, Department of Morphology, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris; Jean-Jacques Ferrandis and M. Gargar, Archives de l'Hôpital du Val-de-Grâce, Paris; Joel Fouilleron and Philippe Jouve, Archives de Saint-Flour, Cantal; Madame Laffitte-Larnaudy, Archives de l'Institut des Beaux-Arts, Paris; André Soubiran, Bibliothèque des Armées du Val-de-Grâce, Paris; and Françoise Viatte, Department of Graphic Arts, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Béatrice Herbin, my research assistant,

enthusiastically facilitated my relationship with these individuals and their institutions.

My affection for Jean-Galbert Salvage's life story deepened when I visited Chamalières in Lavastrie in the Cantal department in south-central France, the farm, now occupied by Gérard and Robert Salvage, where my subject was born and near which he died.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my friend and editor, Edith Gladstone, who reshaped stylistic aspects of my manuscript to bring them into line with those of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal*. And to Sue Potter, editor of the *Journal*, whose inspired idea was to augment my selection of illustrations for the article with all Salvage produced for his *Anatomie*, thus broadening readers' comprehension of the complexity of the aspect of the Salvage story I chose to tell.

This article is dedicated to the memory of my wife, Judith Lee Stronach.

NOTES

Translations from French are by the author unless otherwise stated.

1. "Si la France veut voir les arts reflourir et reprendre, avec plus d'énergie, avec le sublime enthousiasme qui leur est propre et donner aux hommes de génie la gloire de transmettre à la postérité, sur le marbre et sur la toile, les scènes mémorables qui ont honoré la Révolution française il faut une intervention du gouvernement qui doit dans tous les temps son appui aux Beaux-arts." Charles Louis Corbet to citoyen Lagarde, secrétaire général du Directoire exécutif, Paris, an V [1797], 8–13; quoted in Pommier 1991, pp. 349–50. Corbet was a sculptor and a librarian at the École Centrale du Nord, and a strong proponent of the French Revolution. See Lennep 1994, pp. 45–52.
 2. Sénéchal 1998, pp. 219–28, pls. 87–93.
 3. On the changes in its administration, see Locquin 1912, pp. 1–5.
 4. Pamphlet of Jacques-Pierre Brissot, quoted by Crow 1985, p. 183.
 5. The Assemblée Constituante (National Constituent Assembly of June 1789–September 1791) authorized the sum of 90,000 livres to be devoted to the *encouragement des arts* by decree (of September 17 and December 3, 1791) as *prix d'encouragement*. Recipients were to be chosen by the artists themselves. This system was in place until 1801, at which point recipient artists were both chosen and funded by the government. In 1802 and thereafter, recipients were selected from artists who exhibited at the biennial Salon. Essentially, this process was followed with some modifications until 1815. Lelièvre 1993, pp. 145ff.
- Napoleon established the Prix Décennaux by decree of 24 fructidor an XII (September 11, 1804) to commemorate the coup d'état (18 brumaire an VIII [November 18, 1799]) when he became first consul. The prize was to be given every ten years "[pour] encourager les sciences, les lettres et les arts qui contribuent éminemment à l'illustration et à la gloire des nations" (to support the sciences, letters, and arts that contribute with distinction to the luster and glory of nations). Prizes of 5,000 and 10,000 livres were awarded, and the jury was composed of the "quatre secrétaires perpétuels des quatre classes de l'Institut, et des quatre présidents en fonctions dans l'année qui précédera celle de la distribution"

(four permanent secretaries of the Institut's four classes, and of the four presidents presiding the year before the distribution). The first distribution of the grand prizes would take place on 18 brumaire de l'an XVII (November 8, 1808); *Le moniteur universel*, 15 vendémiaire XIII (October 7, 1804), p. 48.

With the creation of the Classe des Beaux-Arts in 1795, artists could petition this body for financial aid without engaging in competitions or exhibiting at the biennial Salon.

6. When the Institut National was reorganized in 1803, the Classe des Beaux-Arts became one of the Institut's four parts (it had been set up by the National Convention in October 1795 as one of three parts); Amouroux et al. 1995, pp. 306–10.
7. Palmer 1985, especially p. 81. Education was seen as the means of founding a new society in which the powers of government and limitations on such powers were viewed as the predominant issues. The educational law of October 25, 1795, established a number of public schools. Among these were the Écoles Centrales, where the practical needs of the working classes were met. Drawing was an important feature in the teaching of painting and sculpture, but also in relation to other subjects. One-third of all course enrollments in all the Écoles Centrales were in drawing, which attracted pupils from the whole range of social classes present in the schools. Among these were students destined to become artists. Courses were aimed at imparting good taste as well as manual skills, and students were assigned exercises in sketching and copying from engravings of paintings and plaster casts of sculptures, as well as *académies*, or studies from a live model.
8. Endorsements by the Classe des Beaux-Arts were published as news items in the *Moniteur universel*, the Paris daily that was the official newspaper of the government.
9. Salvage's medical education was unique for its time. Medical students at the Université de Montpellier were among the first in France to be offered a combined degree in medicine and surgery; the curriculum was formally established in 1728.
10. "Officier de santé JGS dossier," Archives militaires, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, A.V. 3 Yg928.
11. Val-de-Grâce was a Benedictine convent requisitioned in 1793 for the purpose of housing a military hospital.
12. "De retour des armées en 1796, et employé à l'hôpital militaire de Paris, je conçus le projet d'utiliser mes études anatomiques pour un art que j'avois aimé dès ma plus tendre enfance. Tout plein de cette idée je me livrai au dessin avec ardeur, je fréquentai les académies; j'appris à modeler, à me pénétrer sur l'antique des beautés que j'y trouvois répandues de toute part" (Salvage 1812, introduction, p. i). "Ce n'est point la vanité qui me guide, ni des éloges que je réclame, mes souhaits se bornent à être utile à mon pays et à y voir fleurir les arts qu'entretiennent la paix et l'abondance" (*ibid.*, p. iv).
13. "La figure connue sous le nom du *Gladiateur* fut celle qui me frappa davantage; son attitude, sa taille élégante, son mouvement, son action, tout dans cette statue me montrait les fruits de la science et les prodiges de l'art. Ce fut dans un de ces moments d'admiration que je jetai le plan d'un ouvrage qui réunit tout à la fois l'étude exacte de l'anatomie et son application aux progrès de l'art" (*ibid.*, p. i).
14. See Locquin 1912, p. 83.
15. Haskell and Penny 1988, p. 222.
16. Pariset 1963, pp. 78–85; Arneville 1981; Ronot 1992.
17. In 1789, the sculpture was confiscated from Boutin's garden at Clichy and warehoused at the Dépôt Nesle until February 11, 1796, when Chalgrin selected it for the garden of the new Palais Directorial and placed it prominently before the south facade. The Gladiator was removed for safekeeping during the renovation of the palace and the underground construction of a government conference center and parking facility completed in 1971. According to the Sénat building conservation staff, its whereabouts remain unknown.
18. "Documents envoyés par le conservateur du Sénat, 1798, Paris le 12 prairial VI [May 31, 1798]," Centre d'Accueil et de Recherches des Archives Nationales, Paris (hereafter CARAN), 17/1192/D. See also Hunt 1983.
19. Procès-verbaux, Séance du samedi 7 fructidor an XII (August 25, 1804), in Bonnaire 1937.
20. Éméric-David 1805, pp. 469–72: "On trouvera des détails intéressants relatifs à l'angle facial, dans l'ouvrage que M. Salvage va publier sur l'anatomie du Gladiateur. J'ai mesuré avec lui la tête d'Apollon, qu'il a disséquée."
21. On this subject, see Shedd 1991.
22. Haskell and Penny 1988, p. 148, fig. 77.
23. Lessing 1802. The first edition of Lessing's publication, *Laokoon*, was issued in Berlin by C. F. Voss in 1766; a second, enlarged edition was published in 1788.
24. The classic study concerning this individual is Schneider 1910.
25. *Le moniteur universel*, June 1, 1803, p. 1142.
26. Rionnet 1999, p. 188. Salvage wrote to the president of the Institut of the Classe des Beaux-Arts on August 25, 1804 (7 fructidor an XII), asking for funds, and a commission was formed to visit his atelier, reporting to the Classe des Beaux-Arts, 5 brumaire an XIII (October 1804). See the commission's report in Bonnaire 1937.
27. Chaptal to Denon, February 15, 1804, CARAN F21 707.
28. To serve as a model for the exhibited anatomized plaster figure, he had trussed his own dissections into the pose of the Gladiator.
29. *Le journal de Paris*, September 18, 1804, pp. 2407–8.
30. Le Breton to Champagny, December 26, 1804, CARAN F21 707.
31. Champagny to Le Breton, January 19, 1805, CARAN F21 707.
32. *Le moniteur universel*, September 14, 1805, pp. 1479–80.
33. See Cazort, Kornell, and Roberts 1996.
34. On Bouchardon's *Anatomie nécessaire pour l'usage du dessein* (1741), see Duval and Cuyer 1898, p. 186, and Ronot 1970.
35. Cazort, Kornell, and Roberts 1996, pp. 43, 63.
36. The seven essays were "Du mécanisme des mouvemens du corps humain," "De la statique du corps humain," "Des proportions du corps humain," "Des caractères propres aux diverses races d'hommes," "De la différence des âges," "Des tempéramens ou complexions," and "Des passions en général."
37. "Un des plus grands obstacles qu'entraînait ce genre de travail, étoit de me procurer des sujets dont une longue maladie n'eût pas altéré les formes; il falloit donc que je les prisse sur ceux de nos soldats qu'une bravoure trop souvent querelleuse faisoit mourir dans un duel particulier; enfin après plusieurs tentatives infructueuses je parvins à obtenir, à différentes époques, trois figures moulées sur de semblables sujets. Elles représentent les différentes couches musculaires dont le corps humain se compose, depuis la plus extérieure ou celle qui répond à la peau, jusqu'à la plus profonde, qui se trouve immédiatement appliqué sur les os. Ces figures sont posées dans l'attitude du *Gladiateur*, et je leur dois d'avoir pu analyser le mouvement de cette antique, dont j'ai anatomisé une empreinte sur plâtre." Salvage 1812, pp. i–ii.
38. On this subject, see Imbault-Huart 1981.
39. Tarin 1750; also see the large bibliography in Lemire 1990.
40. On this subject see Percy [1814] and Imbault-Huart 1975.
41. "Notes du baron Desgenettes sur les hôpitaux militaires," Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Manuscrits, FR 11290. This reorganization ended the work of a majority of the military staff in the hospitals where they were stationed. "9 frimaire an XII [December 1, 1803]: Arrête contenant nouveau règlement sur le service de santé," in Duvergier 1826, pp. 459–60.

42. "Rapport, présenté au Ministre-Directeur de l'administration de la guerre, 17 brumaire an XIII [November 8, 1804]," Archives militaires, Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, cote: No. 8209.
43. "Un médecin, peintre, sculpteur, tout ensemble"; "cet ouvrage unique, avec lequel je serai désormais plus utile à la société que ne peut l'être un chirurgien du dernier grade." Quoted in "Dossier Salvage, Jean Galbert, Chirurgien né à Lavastrie," Archives militaires, cote: No. 928/5e feuillet.
44. Among other sources, Moreau de la Sarthe probably drew upon a contemporary work published in 1801 by Anthelme Richerand, which stressed the importance of physiology for an artist's comprehension of the body. On this subject, see also Staum 1995.
45. This was an aspect of physiology he was well qualified to depict. Salvage's baccalaureate, "De Sanguinis missione," was on the circulation of blood and capillary systems (Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire, Section Médecine, Montpellier).
46. CARAN F21 707.
47. Ibid.
48. "Rapport remis à la 3e Division, Paris, January 26, 1807," CARAN F21 707.
49. Salvage to Crétet, Paris, October 7, 1807, CARAN F21 707.
50. "Ministère de l'Intérieur, décision du 28 octobre 1807," CARAN F21 707.
51. "Secrétariat Général; Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur, Paris, October 28, 1807," CARAN F21 707.
52. "Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur, Paris, December 1807," CARAN F21 707.
53. Salon de 1808, Collection Deloynes, t. 44, no. 1146.
54. "Que MM les Professeurs des écoles me donnassent leur avis tant sur le degré d'utilité dont cet ouvrage peut être pour ceux qui se livrent à l'étude de la peinture et de la sculpture que sur ce qu'il paraîtrait juste d'allouer pour prix de son travail." Bachasson to Monsieur Merimée, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'École Spéciale des Beaux-Arts, Paris, July 24, 1810, CARAN AJ52 441 Bureau des Sciences et des Arts.
55. "Rapport fait à l'assemblée des professeurs de l'École spéciale des beaux-arts, sur l'ouvrage intitulé Anatomie du Gladiateur combattant," August 21, 1810, CARAN F21 707.
56. "Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur par le chef du 3e division," September 15, 1810, CARAN F21 707.
57. CARAN F21 710.
58. Minister of the interior to Salvage, Paris, November 3, 1810, CARAN F21 707.
59. "Rapport présenté au Ministre de l'Intérieur," September 15, 1810, CARAN F21 707.
60. "Rapport de Neuville au Ministre de l'Intérieur," Paris, April 3, 1811, CARAN F21 707.
61. Internal memo from the minister of the interior, December 24, 1811, CARAN F21 707.
62. CARAN F21 707. Salvage's treatise was available as a bound volume through Le Normand, imprimeur-libraire, rue de Seine, and Treuttel et Wurtz, libraires, rue de Lille. A third vendor of engravings, Bance l'ainé, may have handled engravings and counterproofs, which Salvage also attempted to sell by subscription. On November 26, 1804, in the first published announcement about the project, it had been noted that the material would be available from Salvage and "chez M. Cussac, imprimeur-libraire, rue Croix-des-Petits-Champs, no. 33," who was not listed among the vendors in 1812.
63. Favorable reviews of Salvage's work were published in *Le moniteur universel*, May 11, 1812; *Le journal de l'Empire*, May 25, 1812; and

Le journal des arts, des sciences, et de la littérature, June 25, 1812.

64. "Séance du samedi 2 mai 1812," Archives de l'Institut National des Sciences et des Arts, Paris, 2E1 1811–1812.
65. See his death certificate, Archives Départementales du Cantal, Aurillac, commune de Lavastrie. The farm where Salvage died still exists and has been continuously occupied since the seventeenth century.
66. "Registre des actes de décès; donne la date des actes de succession," Archives de Paris, cote: DQ8 1002 Rum-Sau.
67. This was an official appointed for the administration of goods and other interests of a minor, incapacitated adult, or deceased person.
68. Borreze, "l'ancien tambour major de la garde du Directoire," one of the several soldiers dissected by Salvage.
69. "Succession Jean Galbert Salvage. Minutes Notariales," AN MC/ET/XCVII/714.
70. "Souscriptions, dossier annuels 1800–35": Éméric-David to Minister of the Interior, Paris, October 21, 1812, CARAN F21 710.
71. Lesch 1984, pp. 13–14, is my source here and in the next paragraph.
72. Cazort, Kornell, and Roberts 1996, *passim*.
73. Métraux 1995.

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Thomas Moran's *Colburn's Butte, South Utah*: Forgotten Landmark of a Lost Friendship

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A largely unknown watercolor (Figure 1) by Thomas Moran (1837–1926), recently promised as a gift to the Museum along with stereographs and related letters, helps to fill a gap in our knowledge of the artist's travels through southern Utah when, in 1873, he was en route to join the U.S. Geological Survey Expedition to the Grand Canyon, led by John Wesley Powell.¹ For the artist, the principal fruit of that trip was the monumental oil painting *The Chasm of the Colorado* (Figure 2), purchased by the U.S. Congress in 1874. However, among other results of the journey, Moran designed a series of wood engravings of Utah scenery for a popular American art periodical, *The Aldine*, which included one with the same subject as the watercolor. The latter appears to have been the second stage of at least three in the formulation of the wood engraving (Figure 3).

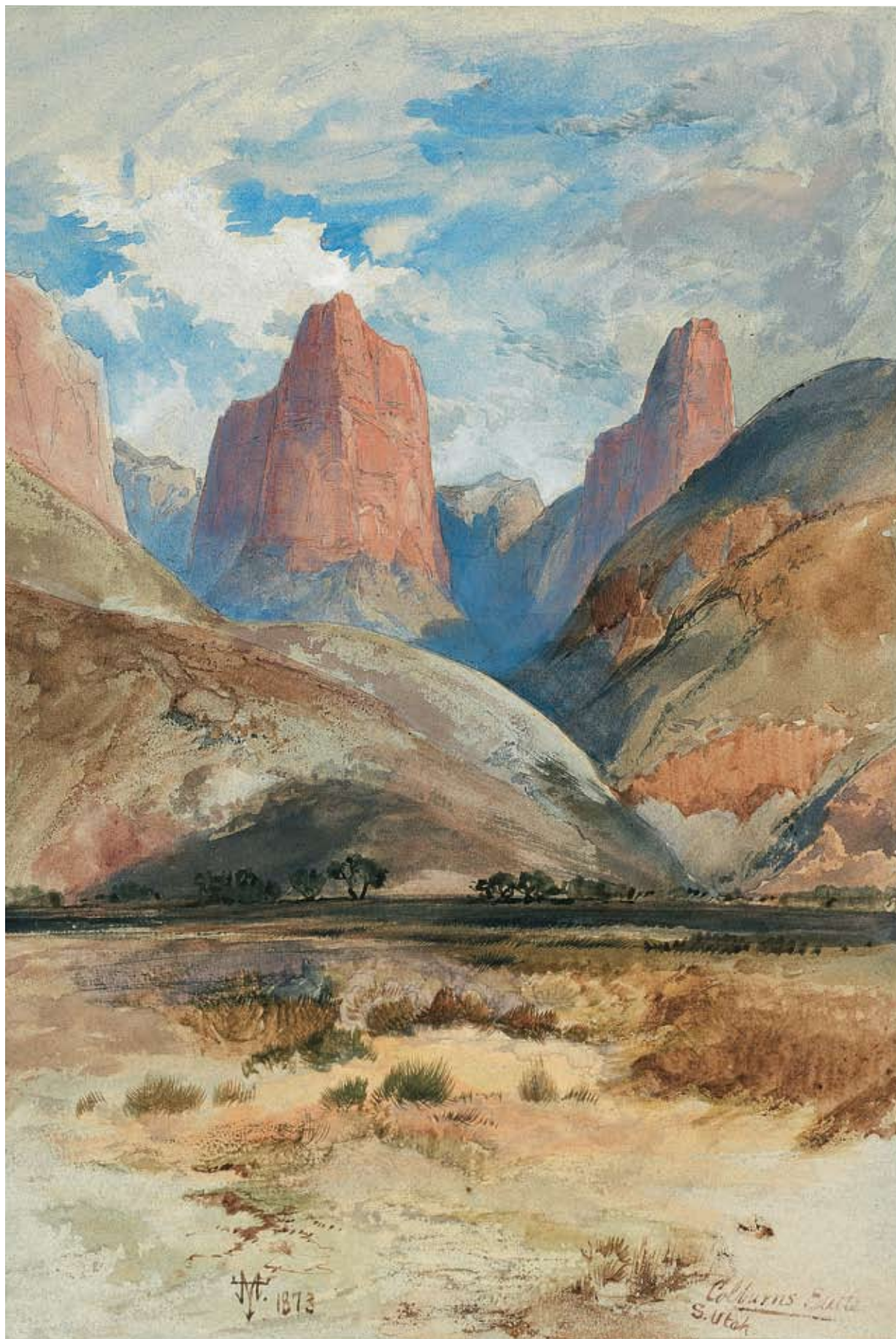
Along with his monogram and the date 1873, Moran inscribed the watercolor "Colburn's Butte/S. Utah." He had named the site for his then companion, Justin E. Colburn (1845–1878; see Figure 5), a Washington, D.C., correspondent for the *New York Times*, who had been commissioned to report on the Powell expedition and supply text for *Picturesque America*, an 1872–74 gift book edited by William Cullen Bryant.² The picture shows two tall rock towers—actually the prows of long, narrow mesas—of pale brick red rising beyond overlapping hills in the middle distance. A bold horizontal shadow with the silhouettes of small trees forms a platform for the hills, while the flat plain of the foreground is elaborated sparsely with tufts of grass and tonal modulations of the sand-colored terrain. At first glance, it is not clear which of the two towers is Colburn's Butte; however, a highlight of broken cloud setting off the one at left, transformed in the wood engraving (Figure 3) into an angry cloudburst concealing the tower's peak, marks the site in question.

Colburn's Butte was believed to be somewhere in the Kolob Canyons section of what is now Zion National Park (see map, Figure 4); until now, however, its exact location was uncertain. Thurman Wilkins, Moran's earliest modern biographer, had traced with admirable precision the path of the Powell party on train, stagecoach, and then wagon south from Salt Lake City—where Moran and Colburn joined Powell and the geologist John C. Pilling—to Fillmore City.³ There, Powell was delayed and sent the artist and correspondent on horseback south, later to reconnoiter with them at Kanab, about sixty miles north of the Grand Canyon, where Powell had previously established a base camp (see Figure 6). On or shortly before July 23, 1873, Moran and Colburn approached what the artist identified in a drawing as "Colburn Butte, Taylor Canon" (Figure 7). However, the anonymous author of the article, "Utah Scenery," which accompanied the engraving of Colburn's Butte the following January in *The Aldine*, called the place "Kannarro Cañon." The writer located the canyon "five or eight miles south" of the Mormon village of Kannarro (today Kanarraville):

It is in this cañon that the visitor receives the first hint of that glorious region to the south, viz., the [Grand] cañon of the Colorado River of the West. Here are first seen those wonderful masses of red sandstone that, a little further south, become overwhelmingly stupendous, staggering belief in their vastness and magnificent forms. [Colburn's] butte . . . is two thousand feet high, and of a brilliant vermilion hue. It is equally grand and beautiful in storm and sunshine.⁴

In an 1877 letter, Powell referred to Colburn's Butte as "a standing rock of titanic size . . . in the middle of a rather broad canyon. Its wonderful form is quite equaled by its beauty of color, it being composed of sandstones of bright orange, vermilion and chocolate hues."⁵ On a page of a lined notebook, Moran made a rapid pencil sketch of the

1. Thomas Moran (American, born England, 1837–1926). *Colburn's Butte, South Utah*, 1873. Watercolor and gouache on paper, 14 x 9 in. (35.6 x 22.9 cm). Initialed with the artist's monogram and dated lower left: *TM 1873*; inscribed lower right: *Colburn's Butte / S. Utah*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Promised gift of David and Laura Grey

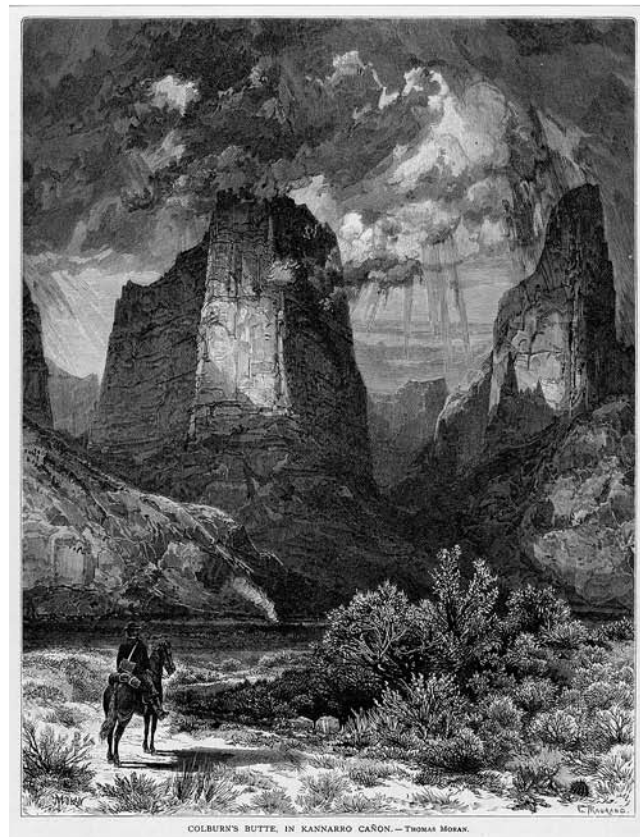




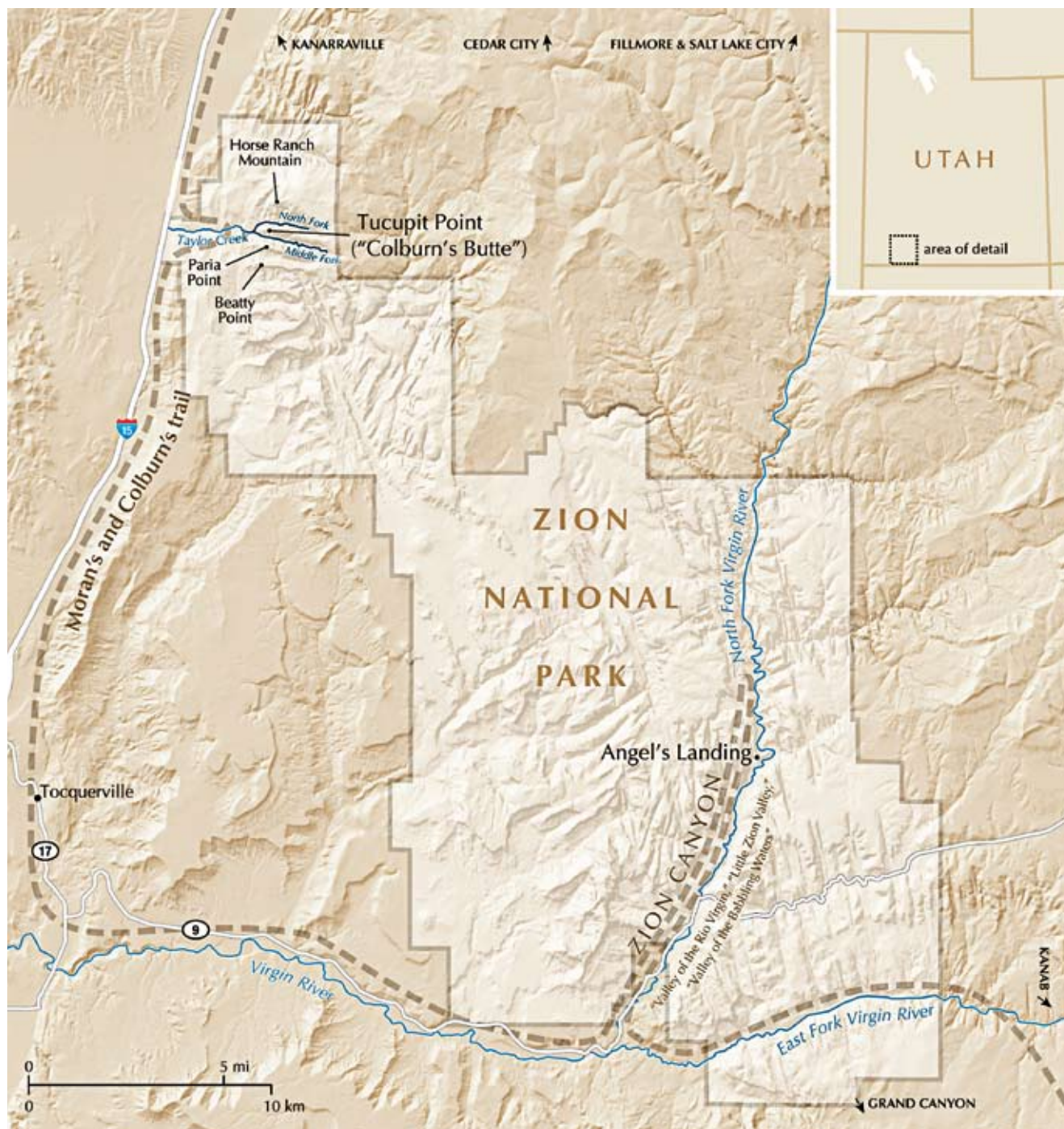
2. Thomas Moran. *The Chasm of the Colorado*, 1873–74. Oil on canvas, 84 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 144 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (214.3 x 367.7 cm). Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., on loan from the Department of the Interior, Office of the Secretary (L.1968.84.2)

tower (Figure 7) as well as one just beyond to the right, making note of its “very dark red sandstone” hue. On the same sheet, the artist dubbed the crag “Colburn Butte Taylor Canon” and entered the date, “July 23rd.” However, even as Wilkins suspected, the canyon in which Moran and Colburn first spied the tower was not the place today called Kanarra Canyon, which is east, not south, of Kanarraville.⁶ Moreover, as noted above, on the sketch, Moran inscribed “Taylor Canon.” While there is no locale called that today, there does exist Taylor Creek, about eight miles south of Kanarraville; it marks the location and name of a popular trail in the Kolob Canyons section of Zion National Park (see map, Figure 4). Here, then, is the place the author of the *Aldine* article erroneously identified as Colburn’s Butte in Kannarro Cañon (Figure 3).

On the Taylor Creek trail the visitor walks along the middle fork of the stream between the looming sandstone mesas now identified as Tucupit Point and Paria Point (Figure 8).⁷ These features are two of the so-called Kolob “fingers,” defining the Kolob Canyons; they are the geological expressions of the west boundary of the Kolob Plateau (part of the Colorado Plateau), scored into terminal branches by the same forces of alluvial erosion that carved the Grand Canyon.⁸ To pass between these buttes—as Moran and Colburn probably did not⁹—where the space between them progressively narrows, is to be flanked by soaring walls of



3. Charles Maurand (French, active 1860–80), after Thomas Moran. *Colburn's Butte, in Kannarro Cañon*, 1874. Wood engraving, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (27 x 20.5 cm). Photograph: *The Aldine* 7, no. 1 (January 1874), p. 15



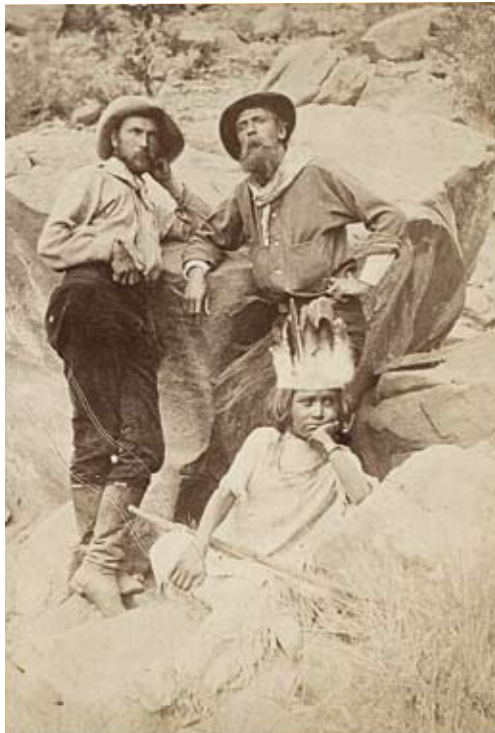
4. Map of Zion National Park and environs. Map by Anandaroop Roy

pink-orange sandstone veritably glowing with reflected light even on a cloudy day.

Nonetheless, the points' aspect is, in some respects, even more impressive from farther west, on or just east of the low plain bounding the plateau, where lies the southern carriage route, used by the Mormons, that, later, became part of north-south Route 91 and, later still, Interstate Highway 15. Driving south on the latter, a traveler could easily miss the opening of a gap, in the low, rounded foothills concealing the plateau, that suddenly exposes the

fanglike appearance of Tucupit and Paria Points beyond. Not far east of the highway and north of the trail is an even more impressive perspective (Figure 8), which closely corresponds to the artist's pencil sketch.¹⁰

Of course, Moran and Colburn had far greater wonders to behold in store with Powell just a fortnight away at the Grand Canyon.¹¹ And even before they reached the Powell party at Kanab, about August 1, by July 29 they were joined by Powell's survey colleague Almon Harris Thompson, who escorted them into the stupendous "Cañon of the Virgin"—



5. John K. Hillers (American, born Germany, 1843–1925). Thomas Moran and Justin E. Colburn on the John Wesley Powell expedition to the Grand Canyon, with Paiute Indian boy, 1873. One-half of a stereograph. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, promised gift of David and Laura Grey



6. John K. Hillers. The 1873 John Wesley Powell expedition party on Kaibab Plateau near the Grand Canyon, Arizona. From left to right: James C. Pilling; John Wesley Powell; “Jim,” a Paiute Indian guide; Thomas Moran; Nathan Adams (standing); Justin E. Colburn; George W. Ingalls. One-half of a stereograph. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, promised gift of David and Laura Grey

called by the Mormon settlers of Utah “Little Zion Valley” or, today, simply Zion Canyon (Figure 9), the principal attraction of Zion National Park.¹² There, the artist made at least fifteen sketches, some with watercolor.¹³ Several of those were developed into woodcuts for succeeding articles on Utah scenery in the 1875 number of *The Aldine*, as well as into one of fifteen chromolithographs, based on Moran’s watercolors, illustrating Ferdinand V. Hayden’s *The Yellowstone National Park, and the Mountain Regions of Portions of Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, and Utah*, published by Louis Prang and Company of Boston in 1876.¹⁴

Still, Colburn’s Butte—Tucupit Point today—along with its companion, Paria Point, supplied the earliest foretaste of what the artist would seize on in landscapes with such enthusiasm at a later date. Moran thought enough of his first glimpse of the mesa to refine his perception, first in the watercolor and then in the woodcut for *The Aldine*. But although we now can be reasonably confident of having established the precise location of Moran’s initial sketch (Figure 7), comparison with the photograph (Figure 8) makes clear that he strayed from an exact transcription of the site. Even allowing for the remote possibility of significant geologic erosion since 1873, Moran gave greater prominence to the lower and, possibly to modern eyes, the less distinctive of the two towers, that is, Tucupit Point. To judge from the photograph, the artist was careless about the order of the overlapping hills in the foreground. He also seems to have confused them with the distinct ridges (a portion of Horse Ranch Mountain, on the left, and of Beatty Point, on

the right) that form a backdrop to Tucupit and Paria Points. In the sketch they appear to have been conflated with the foreground slopes in order to set off the towers more distinctly. Indeed, contemplation of the sketch suggests that Tucupit Point, larger and with the more concentrated geologic articulation across its face when compared with the rendering of Paria, was the primary object of Moran’s attention. The rest of the drawing, of a highly summary character—the lower right register was virtually scribbled—was of secondary interest, perhaps even jotted down in a compromise between fading memory and compositional impulse. One wonders even if Moran may have sketched the site entirely from memory. In the notebook, the drawing *Colburn’s Butte, Taylor Canon* follows, rather than precedes, three sketches, also dated July 23, that he labeled “Toquer-ville,” the name of a settlement fourteen miles to the south of the Taylor Creek area that would have taken him and Colburn at least several more hours to reach.¹⁵

Since Moran was busily engaged with the Powell party at the Grand Canyon until late August, it may well be that the watercolor (Figure 1) of Colburn’s Butte was not executed until after his return to his home and studio in Newark, New Jersey, on September 18.¹⁶ On the other hand, Moran had brought his watercolors with him on the journey, so it is conceivable that, referring to the pencil sketch, he rendered the color image swiftly one evening while the two companions journeyed on together, then gave it to Colburn before they arrived back East. Whichever the case, the translation of the initial sketch into a composition logically

7. Thomas Moran. *Colburn Butte, Taylor Canon, July 23rd, 1873*. Page in a notebook. Graphite on lined paper, 4 1/8 x 8 in. (10.5 x 20.3 cm). Inscribed in graphite upper right: *Colburn Butte Taylor Canon/July 23rd/very dark red sandstone*. Courtesy National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park (YELL-23063)



8. Tucupit and Paria Points, Kolob Canyons section of Zion National Park, Utah. Photograph courtesy of Kodi Schoppmann and Richard Neuenfeldt, Zion National Park

entailed converting the horizontal format into a vertical one. In doing so, the artist emphasized the apparent height of the mesas; in the watercolor the buttes grow proportionally narrower, thus increasing the sense of their upward thrust. The new format also served to press the principal features together more tightly, even as it allowed for taller zones of foreground and sky, which the artist developed somewhat cursorily.

In order to set Colburn's Butte off more distinctly, in the watercolor Moran embellished the hint of cloud above the

butte in the sketch, contriving a cool, ragged nimbus descending behind the peak. Abutting the most saturated blue in the picture, this brightest of the highlights (there are touches of opaque white pigment accenting the passage) became an appendage of the amorously rendered cloud cover swirling above it. The cloud pattern forms part of a helical or serpentine rhythm established from the top center register descending behind Colburn's Butte to join the shadow of "Taylor canon" down to the base of the foothill, where it meets the flat plain. The rhythm seems continued,



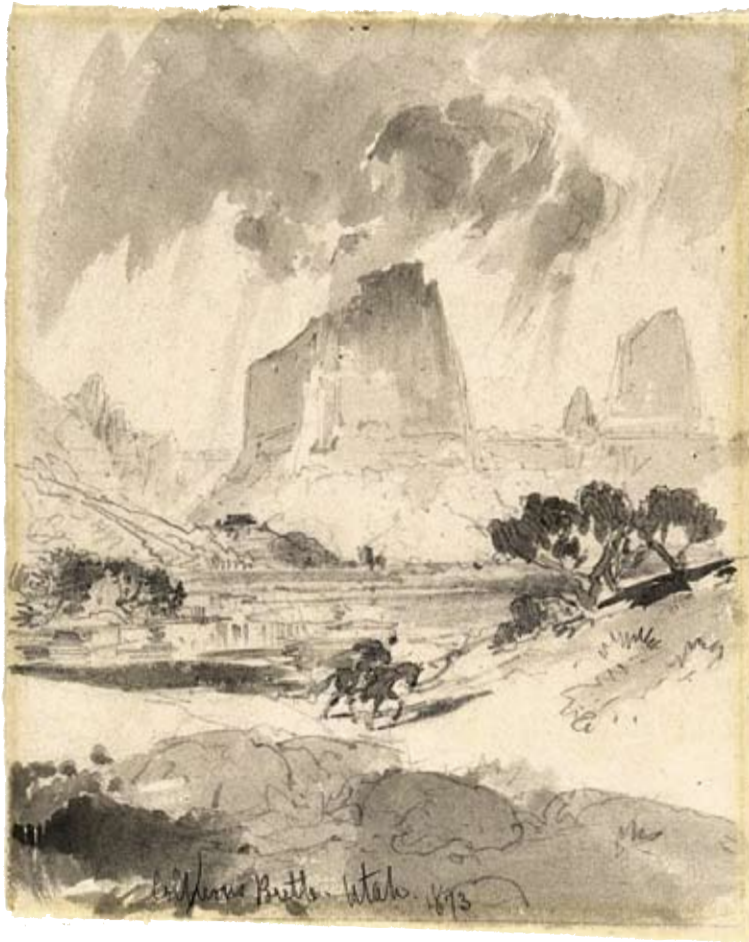
9. [J. Augustus?] Bogert (b. ca. 1831, active New York 1850–81), after Thomas Moran. *Valley of the Babbling Waters, Utah* (site also known as Cañon of the Virgin, Valley of the Rio Virgin, Little Zion Valley, Zion Canyon). Wood engraving, 9 x 12¾ in. (22.9 x 32.4 cm). Photograph: *The Aldine* 7, no. 16 (April 1875), opposite p. 307

in foreshortened form, by the pattern of grass tufts, which advance into the immediate foreground. In the watercolor, too, the artist first modeled the terrain, marshaling the same blue pigment that he had used to define the sky and clouds to shape the deep, atmospherically softened canyons between the towers. The effect is very true to the shades one perceives at the site or in color photographs of it. Compared to what is seen today, the vegetation in the foreground of the watercolor is relatively sparse, perhaps because the artist overlooked features of grass and brush in his hasty original sketch and then did not recall or chose to omit them. Moran's vision emphasizes, instead, the essential aridity and starkness of the Utah desert and its geology, an aspect reinforced, perhaps, by later impressions of the Grand Canyon.

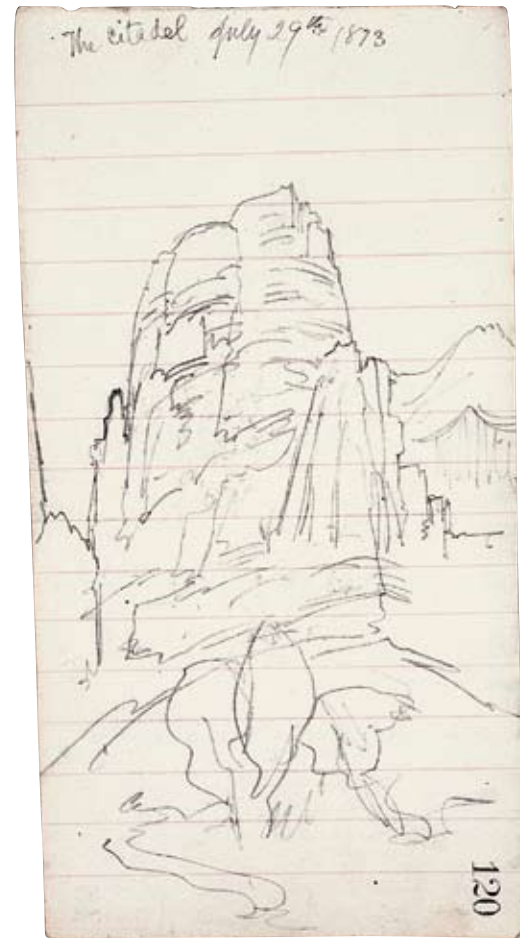
Barely more than a month after his arrival home, the artist began to draw the design of his great picture of the Grand Canyon (Figure 2) on a seven-by-twelve-foot canvas.¹⁷ By mid-December, however, he had set this effort aside to work on the woodcuts in *The Aldine* that would illustrate several articles on Utah scenery, including *Colburn's Butte, in Kannerro Cañon*, published only a month later.¹⁸ The progression culminating in the magazine engraving (Figure 3)—a process that had begun with the July 23 sketch (Figure 7) and then had, as a second step, the watercolor (Figure 1)—included an evident third step, namely, a graphite and ink wash drawing inscribed "Colburns Butte Utah 1873" (Figure 10). The last work represents an intriguing evolution in the artist's conception of the actual site that was surely informed by his ensuing impressions, from July 28 to 30, of Zion Canyon, more than twenty miles southeast of Taylor Creek.

In the ink wash drawing Moran would introduce several features that were made permanent in the woodcut. Most conspicuous is a horse and rider, marching purposefully to the right yet fixed in the center foreground by small, darkly rendered trees at right and left, as well as by the butte and a ragged pall of storm clouds descending upon it.¹⁹ The butte and the horseman are aligned on the central axis, supported by a shallow arc of shaded foreground that sets them off, spatially, and balances the darkness of the clouds in the upper register. One of the effects of this rethinking of the design is to relegate the companion butte (Paria) to almost incidental status at extreme right.

The ink wash sketch is remarkable, as well, for other features that boldly distinguish it from the earlier graphite drawing and the watercolor. The hills framing the buttes have been eliminated or much reduced; the trees at either side partially assume the framing function yet allow for a much more open composition; and a shallow body of water—a pond or possibly a stream—is weakly suggested beneath the butte with short, vertical strokes of wash denoting reflections. Above all, the form of the butte has been altered markedly. It has become proportionally wider and, thus, more monumental in aspect, like the prow of a great ship; its companion, at right, is now a reduced echo of its original form. To students of Thomas Moran, such marked distortions of observed motifs would come as no surprise. As arguably America's most accomplished acolyte of the British master J. M. W. Turner, Moran made no secret of his admiration both in copies he made of Turner's paintings as well as in verbal testimony. Indeed, on one occasion, he



10. Thomas Moran. *Colburn's Butte, Utah*, 1873. Graphite and ink wash on paper, 6 x 7½ in. (15.2 x 19.1 cm). Inscribed in ink at bottom: *Colburns Butte/Utah/1873*. Jefferson National Expansion Memorial/National Park Service, Saint Louis, Missouri



11. Thomas Moran. *The Citadel, Zion Canyon*, 1873. Page in a notebook. Graphite on lined paper, 8 x 4½ in. (20.3 x 10.5 cm). Inscribed in graphite at left: *The Citadel July 29th 1873*. Courtesy National Park Service, Yellowstone National Park (YELL-23063)

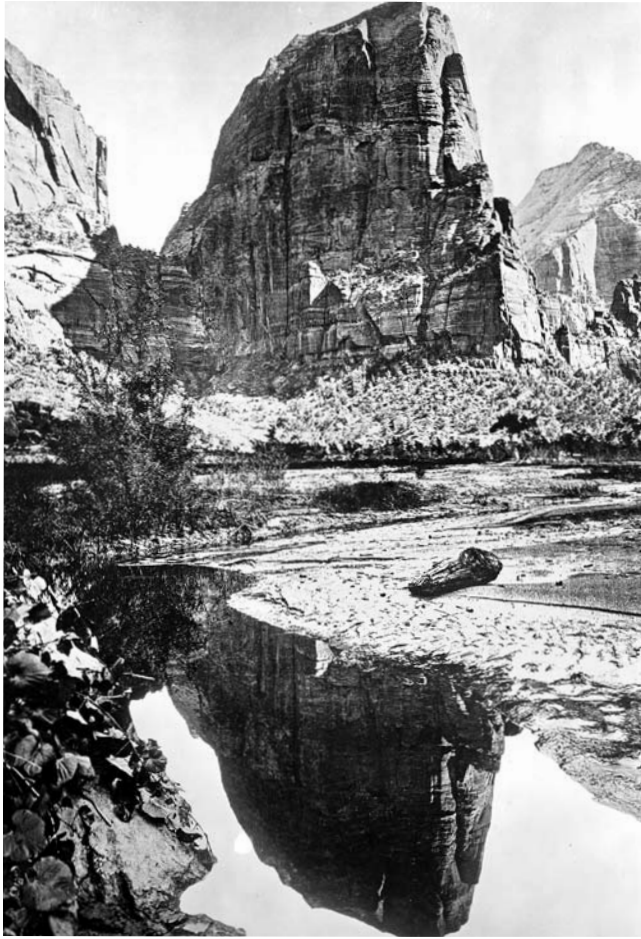


described his own creative process in terms much like those he had just used for the master's:

I place no value on literal transcripts from Nature. My general scope is not realistic; all my tendencies are toward idealization. . . . I do not mean to depreciate Nature or naturalism; but I believe that a place, as a place, has no value in itself for the artist only so far as it furnishes the material from which to construct a picture. Topography in art is valueless.²⁰

To illustrate his point, Moran went on to boast that his large painting *The Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone* (1872; Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution, on loan from the U.S. Department of the Interior,

12. Thomas Moran. *The Cathedral, Rio Virgin*, 1873. Pencil on blue wove paper, 10¾ x 15 in. (27.3 x 38.1 cm). Inscribed in graphite upper center: *The Cathedral/Rio Virgin*. Jefferson National Expansion Memorial/National Park Service, Saint Louis, Missouri



13. John K. Hillers. *Reflected Tower, Rio Virgen [sic], Utah*, 1873. Photograph. United States Geological Survey Photographic Library (Hillers 73)

Washington, D.C.) had been contrived with motifs observed both in front of and behind him, a fact verified by Joni Kinsey in 1992.²¹ In the ink wash drawing of Colburn's Butte (Figure 10), the artist obviously took even more license. The strong affinity between the appearance of the butte here and the look of the soaring rock monolith today called Angel's Landing, in Zion Canyon, represented in at least two Moran drawings (Figures 11, 12), suggests that the artist's conception of Colburn's Butte in "Taylor Canon" was enlarged by his response to the even grander tower beside the Rio Virgen in Zion Canyon. The two drawings testify to the powerful impression Angel's Landing made on Moran; lacking a contemporary name, he labeled it, alternately, "The Citadel" and "The Cathedral," nicknames that acknowledge the imposing and lofty character of the landmark, whose summit is the object of what is, today, the dizziest climb that visitors to the park can make.

Moreover, as Kinsey has shown, Moran probably had access to the photographs of the Zion Canyon monolith

taken by John ("Jack") K. Hillers—the Powell expedition photographer—that same year, 1873, if not precisely at the same moment when Moran visited. Kinsey reproduces Hillers's photograph *Reflected Tower, Rio Virgen [sic], Utah* (Figure 13), offering a view of Angel's Landing that bears an even closer resemblance to the monument in Moran's ink wash drawing of Colburn's Butte (Figure 10).²² Whether or not, in the case of the ink wash drawing, Moran referred to his own study *The Citadel* (Figure 11) or *The Cathedral* (Figure 12) or to Hillers's *Reflected Tower*, his apparent adaptation of one or more of those models to this third depiction of Colburn's Butte would have been understandable. Though no taller than Tucupit Point, Angel's Landing is more massive and less enclosed by hills or cliffs (thus exposing its talus base, as in the ink and wash drawing) and so possesses a greater iconic presence.

Indeed, the relative isolation of Angel's Landing gives rise to the suspicion that Major Powell's 1877 description of Colburn's Butte, quoted above, as located "in the middle of a rather broad canyon," betrays a confusion of Angel's Landing with the tower that Moran recorded and named for Colburn in the narrow "Taylor Canon" on or about July 23. While Powell certainly saw Angel's Landing in the company of Jack Hillers in 1873, he never recorded seeing Colburn's Butte in any of his official survey publications. Moreover, Powell's further description of Colburn's Butte as possessing "bright orange, vermilion and chocolate hues" does not match the overall pink-orange coloration of the Kolob fingers; it does correspond, however, to the polychrome of many of the mesas in Zion Canyon. Finally, in the ink wash sketch, the apparent water reflections, suggestive of the Rio Virgen in which Angel's Landing is mirrored in Hiller's photograph, only tend to support the idea that Moran, too, actually had in mind the images of the monument in Zion Canyon.

In any case, in the *Aldine* engraving (Figure 3), the artist seems to have reconciled his new inspirations and ideas with the earlier records of Colburn's Butte seen in the pencil sketch (Figure 7) and the watercolor (Figure 1). Surviving from the ink wash sketch are the storm clouds, the horseman, and the substantial foliage, all strongly distinguishing the engraving from the watercolor. However, in the transition from the wash drawing (Figure 10) to the *Aldine* print, Colburn's Butte has shifted back to the left of the composition; as in the watercolor, both towers again are more closely framed by surrounding hills; and, above all, the butte has reassumed the approximate shape it displayed in the original pencil sketch, where it possessed a massiveness the artist had lessened in the watercolor. Overall, the composition of the engraving reverts, fairly closely, to the watercolor's design, except for the storm, the prominent foreground vegetation, and the horseman, who has been

relocated to the lower left and is now static and turned toward the subject. He and the foliage at right ballast the composition, in lieu of the dark foreground shadow in the ink sketch that Moran chose to delete. Thus, in the engraving, Moran wrought from the earlier impression of the stark, sun-baked pinnacles of the watercolor a far more brooding, sublime vision of the Kolob buttes: lofty, inaccessible precincts where Hellenic, biblical, or Native American gods might dwell, hurling down thunderbolts to discourage the intrusion of mortals like the horseman—Justin Colburn?—understandably transfixed by the natural spectacle before him.

Moran's images for *The Aldine* are among the finest woodcuts he ever designed. Besides these and the splendid series of colored lithographs of the West that Prang published from his watercolors, he also supplied images of the Grand Canyon and of Colorado's Mountain of the Holy Cross (which he traveled to see the next summer) for *Picturesque America*, which completed publication in 1874.²³ His mammoth Grand Canyon painting (Figure 2) awed viewers in Newark, New York, and Washington, D.C., in the spring and summer of 1874.²⁴ Like his equally large *Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone* of 1872, it was purchased by Congress and displayed for many years in the U.S. Capitol.²⁵ The large vertical *Mountain of the Holy Cross* (1875; Gene Autry Western Heritage Museum, Los Angeles), based on the summer 1874 trip to Colorado, premiered in New York in 1875 and was awarded a medal at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876.²⁶ The following year the artist would travel to the Wisconsin lakes and the Florida coasts, producing landscape paintings and engravings of those climes.

In later years, despite a flagging taste for—even an active critical resistance to—his work, which he endured along with his frontier-landscape colleagues Albert Bierstadt and Frederic Church, Moran never lacked for a clientele, private or corporate. Almost until his death in 1926, he made working trips to the West, especially to the Grand Canyon, even as he occasionally painted, with equal brio, the quieter precincts of Long Island and New Jersey in the East, perhaps as a concession to the new taste for a suburban landscape of Barbizon and Impressionist flavors.²⁷

Justin Colburn's future was scarcely as illustrious as Thomas Moran's, in part because it was cut short. The correspondent wrote three dispatches from the West for the *New York Times* in 1873, the second of them from Toquerville on July 23, the day Moran dated several of the pencil drawings inscribed with the town's name as well as his first portrayal of Colburn's Butte (Figure 7).²⁸ In the last of Colburn's dispatches (August 13), he waxed eloquent on the "Little Zion Valley" (that is, Zion Canyon; see Figure 9), asserting that "in beauty of forms, in color, in variety, in every-

thing but size, [Zion] vastly excels the famous Yosemite." Yet nowhere, including in the essay "The Cañons of the Colorado," which he supplied for the 1874 *Picturesque America*, did Colburn describe the landmark to the north to which Moran had attached his (Colburn's) name and later illustrated for *The Aldine*.²⁹ Back in Washington, the correspondent eventually became head of the *Times* bureau, regularly covering the political scene, particularly the U.S. Senate. He proved so well regarded by the legislators that, in April 1878, the Senate confirmed him as consul-general of Mexico. However, the appointment may have been partly an accommodation to Colburn's declining health. He was already suffering from an unidentified malady when he and his wife departed for Mexico City, where Colburn languished, only to die before the year was out.³⁰

Though their paths presumably separated after their return East in September 1873, Moran and Colburn seem to have cultivated a firm friendship, one that included their spouses. At Colburn's death, his widow, Mary, wrote to Moran's wife, Mary Nimmo Moran, with the news. The latter's response strongly suggests the women had maintained a regular correspondence, and that she and the artist were well aware of the consul's poor health in Mexico. She continued:

I am sure you know how dearly we both loved him and that we are with you in this your great sorrow. What can I say to you only come home & we will do all that a Brother and Sister can[.] I feel that I owe it to his memory to love you always for his sake[.] he was the truest friend and the best husband I ever knew . . . Poor Mr. Moran feels very badly[.] the loss of his own Brother could not hurt him more[.]³¹

To his wife's letter the artist appended "a line," assuring the widow "how dear a friend [Colburn] was to me & his death has left a blank in my friendships that nobody can fill. . . . His memory will always be cherished in my heart." Still, the artist's affection could not prevent the vanishing of a reputation not fully realized. The name Colburn's Butte seems not to have outlasted Powell's reference to it in his 1877 letter.³²

A complicating factor in the site's own identity is that the Kolob Canyons region itself persisted virtually unknown for more than a half-century after Moran's and Colburn's passage. The canyons were not part of the original tract that became the park in 1919. They were not set aside as a "monument" until 1937, and then not formally declared part of Zion Park until 1956.³³ Even today, while summer crowds jam the more spectacular Zion Canyon, far fewer visit or are much aware of the Kolob Canyons section to the northwest, which guidebooks tout to those actually seeking a more wilderness-like refuge from the throngs an hour away.³⁴ And even if the casual park visitor takes the scenic drive through

Kolob Canyons, he or she will miss the awesome perspective that arrested Moran and Colburn in late July 1873. As noted earlier, one gains an approximation of the view from the shoulder of Interstate 15, where the back drafts of rushing tractor trailers threaten to blow the spectator down. A still closer perspective may be obtained by bushwhacking, literally, north from the Taylor Creek trail. The view from there most closely recalls the artist's and the reporter's first impression of the landmark that briefly bore Justin Colburn's name and inspired Thomas Moran's indelible picture in honor of his short-lived friend.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author extends his thanks to the many individuals who assisted him with this article: Kodi Schoppmann and Richard Neuenfeldt, park rangers, Kolob Canyons Visitor Center, Zion National Park; Michael Plyler, director, Zion Canyon Field Institute; Ken Rockwell, map librarian, University of Utah; Nancy A. Kandoian, map cataloguer, Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, New York Public Library; Colleen Curry, supervisory museum curator, Heritage and Research Center, Yellowstone National Park; Kathleen Moenster, assistant curator, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, National Park Service, Saint Louis; Steve Russell Boerner, librarian, East Hampton Public Library, East Hampton, New York; Joseph D. Schwarz, archivist, Textual Archives Services Division, National Archives; Stephen L. Good, Thomas Moran Catalogue Raisonné Project; Elizabeth and Catherine Avery; Shayne Benz; Vivian C. Chill; Jan Farber; and Joelle Gotlib. I wish to acknowledge a special debt of gratitude to David and Laura Grey, generous donors of the promised gift of the Thomas Moran watercolor and related photographs and documents.

NOTES

1. The Powell expedition is copiously documented. See Wilkins (1966) 1998, pp. 106–35; Kinsey 1992, pp. 95–124; Morand 1996, pp. 41–43; and Anderson 1997, pp. 55–58, 205–8.
2. For Colburn, see Wilkins (1966) 1998, pp. 115ff.; Kinsey 1992, pp. 104–6; and Anderson 1997, pp. 57–58, 207–8. The Utah leg of the expedition is also described in Lindstrom 1984, especially pp. 1–4.
3. Wilkins (1966) 1998, pp. 115–20.
4. "Utah Scenery" 1874, p. 15.
5. John Wesley Powell to William H. Rideing (author and frequent contributor to *Scribner's Monthly*, *Harper's Monthly*, and *North American Review*), February 9, 1877, Powell Survey Letter Press Book No. 1 (1866–77), 209, RG 57, National Archives, partially quoted in Wilkins (1966) 1998, p. 119.
6. Wilkins (1966) 1998, pp. 119, 343n53. As Wilkins was aware, the place called Kanarra Canyon today is not one of the Kolob Canyons but is located at least eight miles north of Taylor Creek. On the other hand, Wilkins identified the Taylor Creek arroyo as "Kolob Canyon." The Taylor Creek arroyo is one of the Kolob Canyons, which are not individually named; however, the Kolob Canyons are located elsewhere in Zion, on Kolob Creek, at least ten miles to the southeast of Taylor Creek. For Kolob Canyons, see <http://www.zionnational-park.com/kolob-canyon.htm>, 20, including links for maps. The engraving *Colburn's Butte* (Figure 3) may have been sited at "Kannarro Cañon," because Kanarrville was then the settlement nearest the Kolob Canyons.
7. Both names, "Tucupit," and "Paria," derive from Paiute words for "mountain lion" (or "wildcat") and "elk water." It is not clear when the Kolob points received their names, though probably no earlier than 1937, when the Kolob Canyons became a national monument. For the names, see Green 1998, p. 340, and Dollar 1999, p. 78.
8. For the geology of the Kolob Canyons section of what is now Zion National Park, see Powell 1874, p. 11; Powell (1895) 1964, p. 98; Scoyen and Taylor 1931, p. 96; Hagood 1967, pp. 48–49; and Hamilton 1984, pp. 116–19.
9. See Lindstrom (1984, p. 3), who asserts that the two men "ascended Taylor Creek"; and Sharp (2007, pp. 63–64), who observes that Moran and Colburn "found their way into the valley of Taylor Creek." Given Moran's single, hasty sketch (Figure 7) at what he called "Taylor Cañon," and that the sketch was dated the same day as three others labeled "Toquerville," fourteen miles to the south, he and Colburn probably did not linger long in the Taylor Creek area or explore the Kolob Canyons.
10. The author is very grateful to Kodi Schoppmann, park ranger at the Kolob Canyons Visitor Center of Zion National Park, for instantly recognizing and identifying the landmarks in Moran's watercolor and for directing him to the location on Route 15 where he could observe Tucupit and Paria Points in a manner that approximated Moran's point of view. He is additionally grateful to Ms. Schoppmann and Park Ranger Richard Neuenfeldt for later exploring farther in the vicinity of the two points for the vantage reflected in Figure 8, which comes even closer to Moran's perspective. The location is north of the Taylor Creek trail.
11. Wilkins (1966) 1998, pp. 123–29; Anderson 1997, pp. 56, 208. Perhaps the most immediate and vivid descriptions of Moran's and Colburn's visit to the Grand Canyon with the Powell expedition are in Colburn 1873c; see also Colburn 1874, pp. 503–11, and Thomas Moran to Mary Moran, Kanab, Utah, August 13, 1873, published in *Home-Thoughts* 1967, pp. 39–42.
12. Wilkins (1966) 1998, pp. 120–21; Thomas Moran to Mary Moran, Kanab, Utah, August 2, 1873 (*Home-Thoughts* 1967, p. 35). Colburn (1873c) describes "Little Zion Valley"; modern accounts are in Lindstrom 1984, pp. 4–5; Kinsey 1992, p. 105; and Anderson 1997, p. 208.
13. "Thomas Moran's Sketchbook—1873," Yellowstone National Park Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, Montana, pp. 110–15; some sketches are dated July 28 and 29.
14. In addition to Figure 9, depicting the gorge today called Zion Canyon in Zion National Park, see C[harles] Maurand, after Thomas Moran, *The Narrows, North Fork of the Rio Virgen, Utah*, and [J. Augustus Bogert] after Thomas Moran, *Temple of the Virgin, Mu-koon-tu-weap Valley, Utah*, in "Scenery of Southern Utah" 1875. The chromolithograph *Valley of the Babbling Waters, Southern Utah* is a color transcription of Figure 9 and was produced for Hayden 1876, pl. 14.
15. One should add the qualification here that several more of the dated drawings in the Thomas Moran Sketchbook at Yellowstone depart from strict chronological order. At least seven drawings

- dated in early September and October are sandwiched between those dated July 23 and a block dated July 27–30. Likewise, two drawings dated July 27 are on the end pages of the book.
16. Wilkins (1966) 1998, p. 129.
 17. *Ibid.*, p. 131; Anderson 1997, p. 208.
 18. "I am awfully pressed with drawing on wood and have to work every night until one or two o'clock" (Moran to John Wesley Powell, December 16, 1873, quoted in Wilkins [1966] 1998, p. 130).
 19. Moran commonly introduced storms into his landscapes, in this case, perhaps, prompted by the inclusion of one in the contemporaneous graphite design (in the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma) of his large Grand Canyon painting (Figure 2).
 20. Sheldon (1881) 1972, p. 125, quoted in Kinsey 1992, p. 15. Earlier in Sheldon's account (pp. 123–24) Moran is quoted as saying of Turner: "All that he asked of a scene was simply how good a medium it was for making a picture; he cared nothing for the scene itself. Literally speaking his landscapes are false; . . . His aim is parallel with the greatest poets who deal not with literalism or naturalism, and whose excellence cannot be tested by such a standard. . . . In other words, he sacrificed the literal truth of the parts to the higher truth of the whole."
 21. Sheldon (1881) 1972, pp. 125–26, partially quoted in Kinsey 1992, pp. 15, 55: "Topography in art is valueless. The motive or incentive of my 'Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone' was the gorgeous display of color that impressed itself upon me. . . . The forms are extremely wonderful and pictorial, and, while I desired to tell truly of Nature, I did not wish to realize the scene literally, but to preserve and to convey its true impression. Every form introduced into the picture is within view from a given point, but the relations of the separate parts to one another are not always preserved. For instance, the precipitous rocks on the right were really at my back when I stood at that point, yet in their present position they are strictly true to pictorial Nature; and so correct is the whole representation that every member of the expedition with which I was connected declared, when he saw the painting, that he knew the exact spot which had been reproduced." Kinsey (1992, pp. 54–58) extensively analyzes Moran's reconfiguration of natural features in his painting.
 22. Kinsey 1992, pp. 130–31, figs. 74, 75. For obvious reasons, Kinsey first suggested a link between the wash drawing and Hillers's photograph of Angel's Landing. When Kinsey wrote in 1992, the watercolor *Colburn's Butte* was still unknown.
 23. Bryant 1872–74, vol. 2, p. 501 (*Mountain of the Holy Cross*); Moran's images of the Grand Canyon are on pp. 503, 505, 506, 507, 509, and 511.
 24. For reviews, see Anderson 1997, pp. 99–100.
 25. Wilkins (1966) 1998, pp. 5, 135; Kinsey 1992, pp. 63–65, 95; Anderson 1997, pp. 54, 56.
 26. Kinsey 1992, p. 150; Anderson 1997, p. 215; for reviews, see *ibid.*, pp. 107–9.
 27. For Moran's later career, see Wilkins (1966) 1998, pp. 133–77 (for commentary on Moran and Barbizon painting, see pp. 174–75); Kinsey 1992, pp. 125–76; and Anderson 1997, pp. 56–61, 118–27, 160–65, 208–78.
 28. See Colburn 1873a–c.
 29. Colburn 1874.
 30. For Colburn, see "The National Capital," *New York Times*, September 27, 1871, p. 1 (notice of his marriage to Mary E. Judge of Washington); "Notes from the Capital. Washington, April 11, 1873," *New York Times*, April 12, 1878, p. 1; "Obituary. Justin E. Colburn," *New York Times*, December 18, 1878, p. 4; "The Late Justin E. Colburn," *New York Times*, December 18, 1878, p. 5; and "Consul-General Colburn's Death," *New York Times*, January 2, 1879, p. 5.
 31. Mary Nimmo Moran to Mary Judge Colburn, Newark, December 17, 1878, David and Laura Grey collection.
 32. At this writing, the origin of the name "Tucupit Point" is unclear. The earliest reference to its use is in Hagood 1967, map 3. As noted in the text, the Kolob Canyons section of Zion National Park was designated a national monument in 1937, well before its incorporation into the national park in 1956.
 33. The early surveyors were well aware of the "Colob" Plateau and even illustrated it in their accounts, although their descriptions always reflected a perspective from atop the plateau, not from the ancient seabed plain from which Moran and Colburn first caught sight of the Kolob fingers, so called, today designated Tucupit and Paria Points. Powell, the leader of the 1873 Grand Canyon expedition that Moran and Colburn accompanied, in his 1874 *Report of Explorations in 1873 of the Colorado of the West and Its Tributaries* (p. 11), referred to the "Colob Plateau" as "an extensive table-land traversed by deep, narrow cañons through which the headwaters of the Rio Virgin find their way to a desolate valley below." His 1877 letter to William H. Rideing, quoted above in the text (note 5), would seem to confirm that he actually saw "Colburn's Butte," yet it is not referred to in any of his other writings. Clarence E. Dutton's map accompanying his *Topographical and Geological Atlas of the District of the High Plateaus of Utah*, published in 1879, shows (but does not identify) Taylor Creek, although it does not articulate the Kolob fingers correctly (Atlas Sheet XX), and his text, p. 48, does not even refer to the canyons of the Kolob Plateau.
The history of Zion National Park is encapsulated in Chesher 2007, p. 12; see also Murphy 1925, pp. 217–19.
 34. In the twentieth century, early books on the nation's Western national parks including Zion ignore the Kolob Canyons until 1931, when Eivind Scoyen and Frank J. Taylor, in *The Rainbow Canyons*, refer to the Kolobs as "but recently discovered. . . . They consist of eight amazingly colorful, narrow canyons, each a veritable 'rainbow canyon,' hewn from 1,200 to 2,200 feet deep into the sandstone formation." Only by 1967 did Allen Hagood (in *This Is Zion*, p. 3) properly map and describe "the Finger Canyons of the Kolob" and the eight mountains, points, and buttes that define them.

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“Handelar’s Black Choir” from Château to Mansion

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More than a century ago, many antique architectural elements were imported from Europe for the embellishment of Gilded Age homes in America. The transit and arrival of these elements was often shrouded in mystery. A highly significant set of Renaissance marquetry wall panels now in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 1, 2, and see also Figures 7–11) has long been associated with the connoisseurship of the architect Stanford White (Figure 3), of the New York firm McKim, Mead & White, who acquired the paneling abroad for his remodeling of the residence of William Collins Whitney (Figure 4). Unraveling the intrigues and network of carefully cultivated dealers behind White’s transactions provides a window into art commerce at a time when the burgeoning transatlantic export of European art was becoming the subject of heated debate.

The inlaid walnut paneling (ca. 1547–48) from the high altar, or “choir,” of the chapel of the Château de la Bastie-d’Urfé in Saint-Étienne-le-Molard, near Lyon, has been described as the most extensive and accomplished set of marquetry wall panels in Renaissance France.¹ Incorporated by Stanford White into the interior of the W. C. Whitney residence at 871 Fifth Avenue in 1898, the paneling was removed and donated to the Metropolitan Museum in 1942 by the children of W. C. Whitney’s daughter-in-law, Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney (née Gertrude Vanderbilt, 1875–1942), in accordance with her wishes.² Viewing the paneling today, one is hard pressed to imagine the significance of its original ecclesiastical context, a comprehensive Renaissance ensemble rare in France for its decorative range of consistently high caliber.

The paneling commissioned by Claude d’Urfé (1501–1558), who was appointed the French ambassador to the Council of Trent in 1546, for the chapel of his Château de la Bastie in the Loire Valley (Figures 5, 6) was designed by the renowned Italian architect Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, who began his career in Bologna and later moved to Rome.

Panels inlaid by marquetry artist Fra Damiano da Bergamo and his workshop, housed in the convent of San Domenico in Bologna, formed the approximately seven-foot-high wood wainscot surround of the choir. Pictorial panels depicting religious, architectural, and landscape scenes alternated with geometric-patterned inlaid panels in the upper decorative register (see Figures 7–9); the lower half of the wainscot featured panels carved with putti, cartouches, grotesques, and strapwork. The choir was high-vaulted, with a white, blue, and gold plaster coffered ceiling. At the choir’s terminus was a marble bas-relief altar surmounted by an intarsia altarpiece representing the Last Supper that is signed by Fra Damiano (Figure 10). The Veronese artist Francesco Orlandini signed the large panel depicting the Descent of the Holy Spirit that graced one wall of the chapel’s small oratory (Figure 11). Twelve stained glass windows in grisaille (ca. 1557) depicting angels with musical instruments illuminated mural paintings on Old Testament themes and a floor pavement of faience tiles by the Rouen workshop of Masséot Abaquesne (1526–1564).³

In White’s original 1898 design scheme for 871 Fifth Avenue, the salvaged paneling was intended for prominent display adorning the walls of the dining room. When he subsequently acquired an Italian Renaissance coffered ceiling for the room from the Florentine dealer Stefano Bardini (1836–1922),⁴ however, White decided that it overwhelmed the delicacy of the inlaid wainscoting. He ultimately chose, by 1899, to rearrange the panels and use them instead for the less visible setting of the long corridor connecting the main stair hall and the Régence ballroom of the house (Figure 12). Only the largest of the inlaid panels from La Bastie, the *Last Supper* altarpiece (Figure 10), remained in the dining room, where it was encased in a pocket door. A notation in a letter from White to Whitney in 1898 indicates that the paneling was “being arranged by Allard.”⁵ The Allard in question was White’s frequent collaborator, the Paris-based decorating firm of Jules Allard et ses Fils, which was active in America and had maintained a branch office in New York known as Allard & Sons since 1883.



1. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (Italian, 1507–1573), designer; Fra Damiano da Bergamo (Damiano di Antoniolo de Zambelli [Italian, ca. 1480–1549] and workshop, maker; Francesco Orlandini (Italian, active mid-16th century), maker of oratory panel with *The Descent of the Holy Spirit* (Figure 11). Chapel from the Château de la Bastie-d’Urfé, Saint-Étienne-le-Molard, France. Bologna, ca. 1547–48. Walnut and intarsia of various woods, h. of wainscot ca. 7 ft. (2.13 m). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the children of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, 1942 (42.57.4.1–.108)

Allard letterhead of the time advertises “antique wood-work,” for which the firm enjoyed considerable repute in New York.⁶ This phrase invites speculation that the decorating house may have sold the La Bastie marquetry paneling to White as well as installed it for him. Indeed, Jules Allard (Figure 13) had played such a role in the recent acquisition and installation of a “Marie-Antoinette Room” for the Whitney in-laws, Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt II, at Newport. The white-and-gold salon was composed of salvaged wall panels carved about 1778 by Gilles-Paul Cauvet (1731–1788) for the Hôtel Mégrét de Sérilly in Paris and constituted, essentially, the first French period-room

installation in America.⁷ Letters from Allard’s office during the construction of the Whitney interiors provide ample support for a precedent that Allard also purchased the La Bastie paneling for White. On January 18, 1898, Jules Allard proposed from Paris: “I am very much afraid that our beautiful Louis XVI salon decoration with all its period furniture of which I have sent you details and photographs, may escape us. . . . If you think that you have a use for this salon and that you may be almost certain to place it, let me know and I will immediately go buy it at my own risk and peril—I will be truly sorry if it escapes me.”⁸ The manager of Allard’s New York branch office, Henri L. Bouché (1856–1908), pursued



2. View of left wall of the chapel in Figure 1, showing the entrance into the oratory

the subject in a letter to White on February 11: “We think we may have a buyer for some of the rooms of the Louis XIII Hotel Lauzin [*sic*] of which you have the album of photos. The Louis XVI Room we would like also to show to the same party. . . . P.S. Don’t you think that our Tiepolo ceiling would look well in the central panel of Mr. Harry Payne Whitney’s Ball Room? Will you propose it yourself or shall we see him about it?”⁹ These letters offer evidence of Allard’s initiative not simply as a conventional interior decorator but as an enterprising dealer in period architectural salvage, with an independent streak that matched Stanford White’s own. Despite Allard’s persistent promotion of the Louis XVI period

paneling, which the firm had so successfully championed for the earlier Vanderbilt houses by the architect Richard Morris Hunt (1827–1895), White remained steadfast in his search for less fashionably correct earlier period rooms. In this he was reacting against the prevailing vogue for Louis XV and Louis XVI style interiors—a fashion that had been resurrected at midcentury by Empress Eugénie and that remained, abroad, the trademark of French taste for close to a century.

Although no explicit reference to acquiring the chapel of La Bastie occurs in White’s office correspondence, there are frequent cryptic allusions by Allard & Sons between May and October 1898 to the importation of something they call



3. Stanford White (1853–1906), ca. 1892. Photograph: George Cox



4. William Collins Whitney (1841–1904)

“Handelar’s Black Choir.” It is certainly plausible that the “black choir” referred to the dark inlaid panels of the Château de La Bastie, blackened by three centuries of candle soot and dust. The phrase first emerges on May 18, 1898, in a letter from Bouché in New York that informs White of an urgent cable from the Paris house (“Can buy Choir Hendlar for \$20,000.—but for spot cash”) with an immediate reply requested.¹⁰

The rather curious surname of “Handelar,” which makes no prior or subsequent appearance, after the Whitney project, in the known lists of European suppliers dealing with Stanford White, is also intriguing for its alternate spellings in this correspondence—ranging from “Handelaer” to “Handelard,” “Handlar,” or “Hendlar.” Such frequent and patently cavalier variations in spelling, employed by parties presumably in the know, suggest that “Handelar” was someone whose name, transmitted verbally, was rarely seen in print—someone, in other words, using an alias. Notably, both *handelaar* (Dutch) and *Handler* (German) translate as “dealer.”

In the period, such anonymity on the part of dealers was hardly the norm. Why did the seller of the “black choir” use an alias, then? To understand the sensitivity of such transactions, it is necessary to recognize the prevailing mood among connoisseurs and dealers in late nineteenth-century France. In an 1889 essay, the Parisian art historian, curator, and critic Émile Molinier (1857–1906) decried the inability of the French art world to intervene in the sale of the collection of Baron Frédéric Spitzer (1815–1890)—then widely considered the best medieval and Renaissance private holdings in Europe—and preserve it in a national museum: “But what is the use of recriminations? What is done is done. The Spitzer collection will in large part leave France to enrich foreign museums, and the same objects that were so strongly denigrated in the rue de Villejust will become admirable the day they will be exhibited in vitrines in Berlin or London: a peculiar way of understanding patriotism which consists of voluntarily stripping ourselves in order to give our neighbors the arms to combat us.”¹¹ Molinier’s regrets were shared by the nation’s leading museum directors and art authorities, but the greater public regarded such concerns as misplaced and construed them as an impediment to commerce. Moreover, as the reference to “objects that were so strongly denigrated” in the Spitzer collection indicates, informed opinion was generally cautious about the state’s need to secure such art—removed from its original context, restored, and displayed as decorative assemblages by dealer-collectors in galleries built for this purpose. To a skeptical Parisian public such displays were reminiscent of Romanticism—pictorial and picturesque, rather than historically inspired, such as the composite arrangements of Alexandre Lenoir (1761–1839) in his *Musée des Monuments Français* and the eclectic Gothic and Renaissance decors set up by the

medievalist Alexandre du Sommerard (1779–1842) within his apartment at the Hôtel de Cluny. On the whole, then, popular sentiment was opposed to laws controlling the export of art. The transatlantic trade in art was viewed as a steady source of wealth and national pride: demand abroad for French antiques implied appreciation of the nation’s genius.¹² Cultural patriotism thus inspired most members of the French public to favor the free export of art, even as similar national pride evoked anti-export tirades on the part of the artistic administrative elite.

In this climate, it would seem likely that “Handelar” was not a professional dealer but an amateur, perhaps with a reputation to uphold as someone interested in preserving the patrimony of France for the French. Today the architect-decorator Émile Peyre (Figure 14) is remembered as such a personality. Little known as a collector before his death, Peyre bequeathed the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris a fortune of approximately one million francs and his collection, comprising paintings, tapestries, furnishings, and objets d’art spanning the thirteenth through the eighteenth century, which forms the nucleus of that museum’s medieval masterpieces.¹³ The evidence of Stanford White’s office correspondence suggests that the elusive Handelar was none other than Peyre.¹⁴

Émile Peyre’s most notable professional work was the decoration of the grand staircase of the Hôtel Hirsch, a town house acquired and remodeled in 1873 by the financier and philanthropist Maurice, baron de Hirsch (1831–1896), at 2–4, rue de l’Élysée in Paris.¹⁵ The grand staircase was much admired internationally; the Prince of Wales considered the marble Rococo ramp and its gilt-bronze railing the most marvelous he had seen.¹⁶ Such attention may have brought Peyre’s work to the notice of Stanford White or Jules Allard, but they were more likely lured by rumors of Peyre’s medieval collections. In his town house on the avenue de Malakoff, near the Bois de Boulogne, Peyre surrounded himself with these objects and dealt commercially in them.

Peyre’s collecting seems to have benefited from some privileged tips from dealers. Thus, when the Verdolin family offered the interiors of their Château de la Bastie for sale through the Lyon antiques dealer Derriaz in February 1874, the lion’s share of the major lots found their way to Peyre. The château’s chapel, well known in the surrounding Forez region, was dismantled for the sale despite the protestations of a regional preservation association, the Société Archéologique et Historique de “la Diana” (founded in 1862). The ensemble of the Château de la Bastie had been overlooked by the regional Beaux-Arts monument inspectors, and restrictive safeguards were not in place to protect its architectural integrity; the chapel interiors were released to the trade despite last-minute offers of state preservation subsidies. Elements were dispersed separately by Derriaz.



The stained glass windows were acquired by Baron Adolphe de Rothschild for his Paris mansion (built in 1865) at 47, rue de Monceau. His cousin Gustave de Rothschild bought a sculpted door; Alfred Beurdeley, the cabinetmaker and dealer, acquired the altar's dais in enamel tile, which he presented to the Louvre; the Musée de Cluny in Paris purchased a section of the faience floor tiles; and Courtin de Neufbourg bought the coffered ceiling vault and the red porphyry basin of the holy-water font for his Château de Beauvoir.¹⁷ For a relatively small sum, 29,000 francs, Émile Peyre acquired the chapel paneling from Derriaz on December 29, 1874, together with the wall paintings, the marble-relief altar, the marquetry altarpiece, the central portion of the tiled floor pavement, and the holy-water font's pedestal.¹⁸

In 1880 Peyre voiced an interest in selling the ensemble to a concerned representative of the "Diana" preservation group from the Forez region surrounding La Bastie, insisting on "his desire to not retail this admirable decoration" but to sell it as an ensemble to the preservation-minded group and, if possible, "to re-establish it in its original setting," affirming that his profit margin "would be reasonable."¹⁹ Within a few years the sale, return, and reinstallation of the interiors at La Bastie proved unattainable, and Peyre moved the elements to his home at 126, avenue de Malakoff, where he reunited them as part of his personal collection. The hall designed to accommodate these remnants (see Figure 15) was considered a faithful evocation of the chapel of La Bastie (with the exception of the coffered ceiling vault, which was replaced with a neutral-colored ceiling).²⁰

To Arthur David de Saint-Georges, an Urfé family biographer who had expressed appreciation for the collection in 1896, Émile Peyre responded cautiously: "Above all, dear sir, if you publish an article on the de La Bastie chapel, speak very little of me. I detest anything that smacks of

advertisement, I would be therefore sorry that your work on the Forez region which you seem to know so well, may inspire on the part of the public an impression of me that would be too favorable and for which I believe to have no claim."²¹ Peyre's wariness of publicity suggests that by 1896 the chapel's future as a private museum installation was in question, in which case he would have been motivated to sell and split the architectural elements into separate lots, despite his prior protestations.

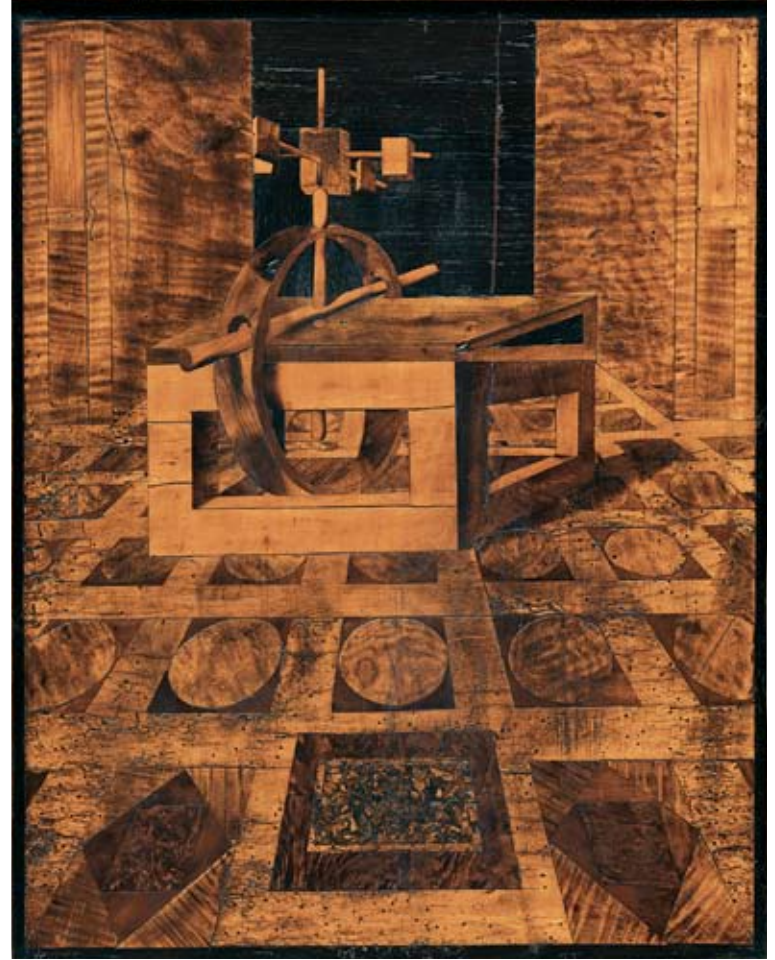
Tours of Peyre's residence were available to acknowledged art lovers and collectors. In addition to the chapel, one could inspect an important collection of carved wood panels of various periods, salvaged from demolished châteaux and abbeys, together with a gallery devoted to tapestries, marble sculpture, paintings, furniture, wrought-iron grillwork, and old locks. In sum, the profile was that of a comprehensive study collection that might furnish a practicing architect-decorator not only with aesthetic enjoyment but also, more practically, with enviable models to cast or replicate, and all for sale at the right price. In this respect, the Émile Peyre collection, with its diverse architectural fragments, was quite similar in arrangement and scope to that of contemporary dealer-collectors with "private museums." The trade in such architectural art, as opposed to the market for small-format masterpieces, was largely oriented toward export; the sizable scale of the art made it difficult to place in the gallery installations of existing European museums or stately homes. In Paris dealers in this field included Émile Gavet (1830–1904), Frédéric Spitzer, and Georges Hoentschel (1855–1915), a fellow donor to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs. In Florence, Stefano Bardini, whose residence-cum-sales gallery was bequeathed to Florence as the Museo Bardini, was much in view. Hoentschel's collection was to be largely acquired in 1906 for the Metropolitan Museum by J. Pierpont Morgan. In a further twist of fate, Peyre obtained,

5, 6. Château de la Bastie-d'Urfé, Saint-Étienne-le-Molard, France. Photographs: copyright © france-voyage.com



7. Panel from the chapel of the Château de la Bastie-d'Urfé (Figures 1, 2). 21 x 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (53.3 x 42.2 cm)

8. Panel from the chapel of the Château de la Bastie-d'Urfé (Figures 1, 2). 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (53 x 41.6 cm)



toward the end of his life, a Spanish Renaissance *patio de honor* from the castle of Velez Blanco and bequeathed it in 1904 to an American client, George Blumenthal, who in turn left it, in 1941, to the Metropolitan Museum. There, reconstructed, it would be under the same roof as the La Bastie paneling; brought together, these two architectural ensembles preserved much of the installation from Peyre's private museum.²²

Among the foreign visitors directed to tour Peyre's collection between 1896 and 1897 was Stanford White. He may have been to the avenue de Malakoff with Jules Allard or his son Georges, both of whom White visited several times in the late summer and fall of 1897. The New York architect appears to have been duly interested in key pieces, and the subject of a private sale was not only broached but seemingly resolved in an unsigned, handwritten letter to White dated Paris, September 7, 1897:

Agreeably to your proposition I accept your offer of six hundred thousand francs for the whole collection of objects that you agree to buy of me in their present condition, and which you will have taken away, all expenses and costs at your charge. As follows:

1st The woodwork only of the chapel de la Bastie, with the few faïence tiles that can still be useful.

2nd The four Beauvais tapestries, signed Distiage, representing scenes of the Iliad.

3rd The magnificent Italian Renaissance furniture.²³

The contents of the inventory that follows indicate that the letter was likely written by or for Émile Peyre. It goes on to list individual lots comprising doors, wall panels, pilasters, crests, marble sculpture, cabinets, clocks, consoles, mirrors, and tapestries. An addendum, dated November 7, 1897, acknowledged partial payment, through the bank of Morgan, Harjes & Co., Paris, of 475,000 francs toward an account of 600,000 francs. What happened next is a matter of conjecture; it is likely that Peyre reconsidered his valuation of the chapel paneling for foreign export and asked for a higher settlement. He must have realized, as had Allard, that White was specifically in the market for Renaissance elements for the Whitney project and that the relative paucity of surviving, significant French interiors of this period (as compared to more numerous Italian examples) made the paneling all the more valuable. Apparently matters stalled, and we thus find White turning to Jules Allard by May 1898 to intercede

as his on-site agent; or it may have been Allard who was brokering the deal from the start. In any case the remainder of the story is revealed in an amazingly candid letter of June 1, 1898 (Figure 16), from Jules Allard to Henri Bouché in New York, who forwarded the communication to White's office, though it was surely not meant to survive:

You cannot imagine the ruses we had to use to buy at such a good rate the paneling from Handelarard. Those people had it in their head that all propositions made them were on behalf of Mr. White and they refused to budge from their high price.

So as soon as you charged us with going to see them we were careful not to show ourselves and we asked an architect friend of ours, known for his many projects in Paris, to go negotiate the paneling for use in a château he is building in the provinces. The strategy worked perfectly, the Handelards thinking of a French buyer abandoned their ridiculous pretensions and agreed to the reasonable price of 85,000 francs.

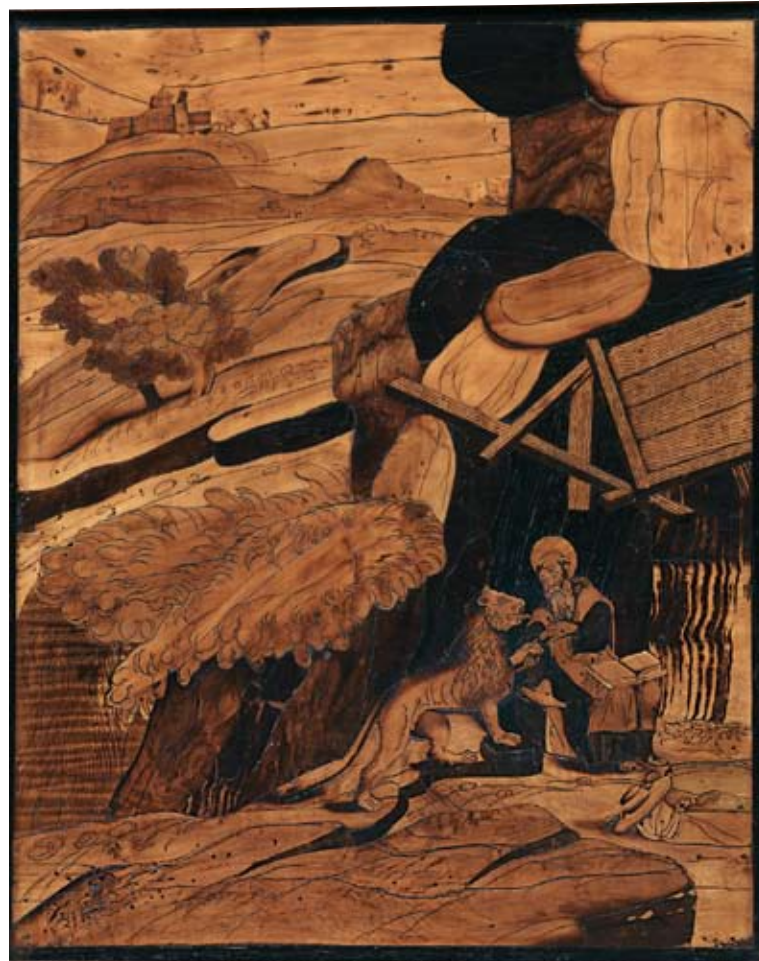
As soon as your cable in reply to ours was received, we gave the 85,000 to our friend the architect, who this very morning went with three carts to take the paneling down and pay for it.

The carts will take the paneling to the packers who will crate it and who will until the last moment think that the shipment is being made to the provinces. It will thus be unknown and will always remain unknown that we are the buyers and that the true recipient is Mr. White.

We therefore request that you go immediately to Mr. White on receipt of this letter to ask that he never say that he used us as an intermediary in this purchase as that would cause us major disagreements; the Handelards would go around crying to all the dealers that we made them lose money, that we cheated them in acting with such ruse etc. etc. and what's more, our friend the architect would reproach us for not having told him that it was for a buyer who had already made offers to the Handelards that we had him intercede. Mr. White will certainly understand that we can render all the more service if such remains unknown and the dealer prices we obtain for him would not be obtained if it were known that we buy for him.

We do not ask for a commission on this purchase, but we think that for our trouble, Mr. White will engage you for the reworking and installation of the paneling, and we will have indeed merited the consignment of this project.²⁴

It is unknown why Allard refers to Peyre in the plural as "the Handelards"—unless there was a second, silent



partner. It is possible that Émile Peyre, given his relatively minor position in the realm of established European antique dealers, may have affiliated himself with a more prominent international player to capitalize on stock and to access business contacts. An ideal candidate might have been Stefano Bardini. The Florentine dealer's own inventory mirrored Peyre's focus on medieval and Renaissance architectural salvage, and the two men's paths may surely have crossed. Bardini also had a considerable history of buying for Stanford White. A reference in a September 10, 1898, letter from Bardini to White is suggestive of some collaboration with Peyre: "[T]he choir you bought from Mr. Handelaer, at Paris, was stopped when it reached Mondane, Franco-Italian frontier, and was sent back to Turin."²⁵ The date and Italian origin of the "choir" exclude it from being that of the Château de la Bastie, but the mention of "Handelaer" implies some form of acquaintance and a striking familiarity with the transit arrangements for goods ostensibly belonging to a business rival.

The friendly architect cited in Allard's letter was more than likely Gustave Lauzanne, who in 1898 was engaged in the building of a new Paris headquarters for Jules Allard et

9. Panel from the chapel of the Château de la Bastie-d'Urfé (Figures 1, 2). 20¾ x 16½ in. (52.7 x 41.9 cm)



10. Fra Damiano da Bergamo and workshop, maker. *The Last Supper*. Altar panel from the chapel of the Château de la Bastie-d'Urfé, Saint-Étienne-le-Molard (Figures, 1, 2). Signed and dated on the stairs at center bottom: "FRATER DAMIANUS CONVERSUS BERGOMAS OR DINIS PRAEDICATORUM FACIEBAT MDXLVIII." Walnut and intarsia of various woods, 60¾ x 40⅞ in. (154.3 x 103.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the children of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, 1942 (42.57.4.108)

ses Fils at 52, rue de Chateaudun. This veiled reference and Allard's request for Stanford White's silence about his role as intermediary may be evidence that the firm's American contacts were envied by colleagues in the Parisian trade. Several years earlier, the prominent French dealer Joseph Spiridon had written the architect Richard Morris Hunt that

"I know the Vanderbilts came to Paris, but as they are now in the hands of Mr. Allard, he no longer lets them go anywhere and I did not see them."²⁶ In any case, Allard's dual role as supplier and installer for White's numerous and complex domestic commissions incorporating period architectural salvage may have continued, at least for French artifacts, for years to come. As for Stanford White's discretion, it seemed assured. Bouché wrote White on June 21, 1898, to give a progress report: "We have just received an invoice for all the wood work which you bought from Handlar, and are doing the necessary formalities to pass these goods through the custom house. We will store them in our ware rooms, subject to your further directions."²⁷ By July 18, Allard & Sons sent an invoice for Paris and New York expenses related to the importation of the "Handelar Black Choir." The charges, totaling 2,607.85 francs, included taking down the woodwork in Paris, crating and handling to Allard's factory, packing in seven cases, freight to Dieppe, and bill of lading and shipment from Dieppe via Liverpool to Boston, together with taxes, fees, and insurance; these costs, added to the initial purchase price of 85,000 francs, brought the total due to 87,607.85 francs.²⁸

The Rouen faience tiles from the chapel that had originally been offered to White in 1897 were apparently not part of the deal for the paneling and appear to have been subsequently purchased by Jules Allard directly from Peyre and then offered to White. In a letter of August 2, 1898, Henri Bouché wrote that he had received an invoice for "a lot of old tiles" belonging to Handelar's Black Choir and requested that White inform him where the tiles were to be sent.²⁹ The tiles arrived in five cases in October 1898 and were delivered to W. C. Whitney's residence.

Correspondence between White and Allard's offices in Paris and New York continued until the architect's death in 1906 with no further mention of Handelar and scant evidence of Émile Peyre.³⁰ The confidentiality did not extend to financial accounts with the client, however. On June 2, 1898, Stanford White wrote to William C. Whitney: "As I telephoned you, I have bought the old black chapel paneling for 85,000 francs (\$17,000.00) and the draft is on the way here against me."³¹ A reckoning of accounts is attached, and on page three, among the suppliers listed, is "EMILE PEYRE." The first item noted under the heading of his name is an "Old carved and inlaid paneling, paneled wainscot Henri II chapel" priced curiously at \$49,500, a sum that is only partly explained by the addition of the architect's commission and restoration expenses. The Renaissance seats, *Iliad* tapestries, cabinets, console, and "sundry small fragments for models, etc.," originally offered as part of the 1897 deposit of 475,000 francs, follow in the listing. Totalling \$81,400, the pieces are summarily described, with the detailed exception of "2 Renaissance tapestries designed by Pilon for Grande de Poitiers" at \$8,400. Such a description



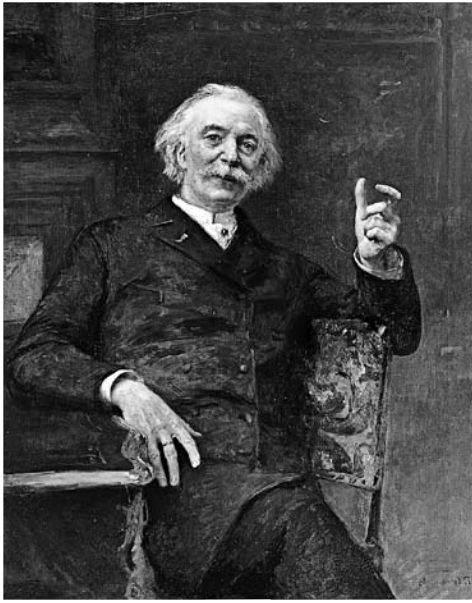
11. Francesco Orlandini. *The Descent of the Holy Spirit*. Oratory panel from the chapel of the Château de la Bastie-d'Urfé, Saint-Étienne-le-Molard (see Figures, 1, 2). Signed and dated lower right: "FRANCISCI ORLANDINI VERONENSIS OPUS 1547." Walnut and intarsia of various woods, 35¼ x 43¼ in. (89.5 x 109.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of the children of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, 1942 (42.57.4.35)

12. Main stair hall of the William C. Whitney residence, 871 Fifth Avenue, New York, ca. 1900. Designed by Stanford White, 1897; executed 1898. The paneling from the Château de la Bastie chapel may be seen along the wall of the corridor at the left, behind the chimneypiece. Photograph: Museum of the City of New York (90.44.1.195)

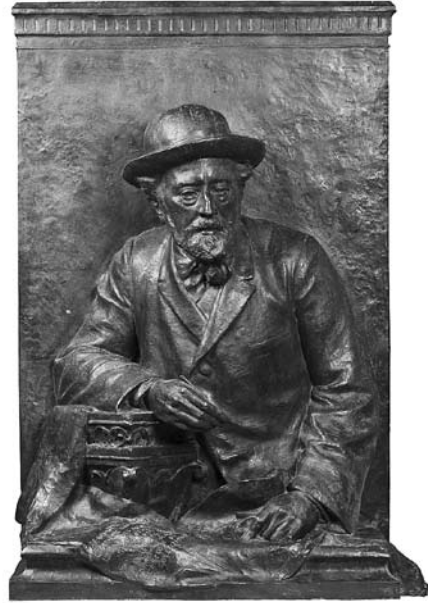
does not match the original lots proposed and must have been the result of some subsequent review of further Renaissance acquisitions from the avenue de Malakoff town house. In a document that may be a final reckoning of purchases for Whitney, updated through January 25, 1899, Émile Peyre's name appears again on page three and key objects are better described.³² The first item is the familiar "Old carved paneling, Henry II paneled wainscoting from La Chapelle de Betie [*sic*]. Now in the long hall connecting main hall and ballroom." Listed last are "2 Long Renaissance tapestries, designed by Germaine [*sic*] Pilon for Diane de Poitiers. Hung in the well of the stairs." These tapestries, mentioned twice as being from Peyre's collection, are undoubtedly *The Drowning of Britomartis* and *The Blasphemy of Niobe*, both probably designed by Jean Cousin the Elder for Diane de Poitiers, the legendary mistress of Henri II, for her Château d'Anet and woven about 1547–59. Like the Henri II-era paneling from La Bastie, the tapestries were presented to the Metropolitan by the Whitney family in 1942 (MMA 42.57.1–2).

Stanford White's purposeful quest to secure what he considered appropriate French Renaissance art and architecture for the W. C. Whitney commission illustrates the architect's





13. Fernand Cormon (French, 1854–1924). *Portrait of Jules Allard (1832–1907)*, 1889. Oil on canvas. Courtesy of The Preservation Society of Newport County, Newport, Rhode Island



14. Alfred Lenoir (French, 1850–1920). *Émile Peyre (1824–1904)*, 1907. Bronze, h. 48 in. (122 cm). Les Arts Décoratifs, Paris (29533). Photograph: Jean Tholance

broad knowledge and painterly eye for imaginative assemblages in designing his period rooms. These interiors quickly became models to emulate for the residences of refined clients of the late nineteenth century and were emblematic of the tastemaking role enjoyed by prominent architects of the

15. Hall emulating the La Bastie chapel in Émile Peyre's Paris residence, where the rearranged marquetry paneling hung between 1882 and 1898, prior to its sale to Jules Allard. This photograph was taken in 1904 to document the Peyre bequest to the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs in Paris. The large wall paintings, also from the La Bastie chapel, were not included in the sale to Allard and were part of the bequest; they have since been reinstalled in their original context at the Château de la Bastie-d'Urfé. Photograph courtesy of Les Arts Décoratifs, Paris (fonds Émile Peyre, no. 19)



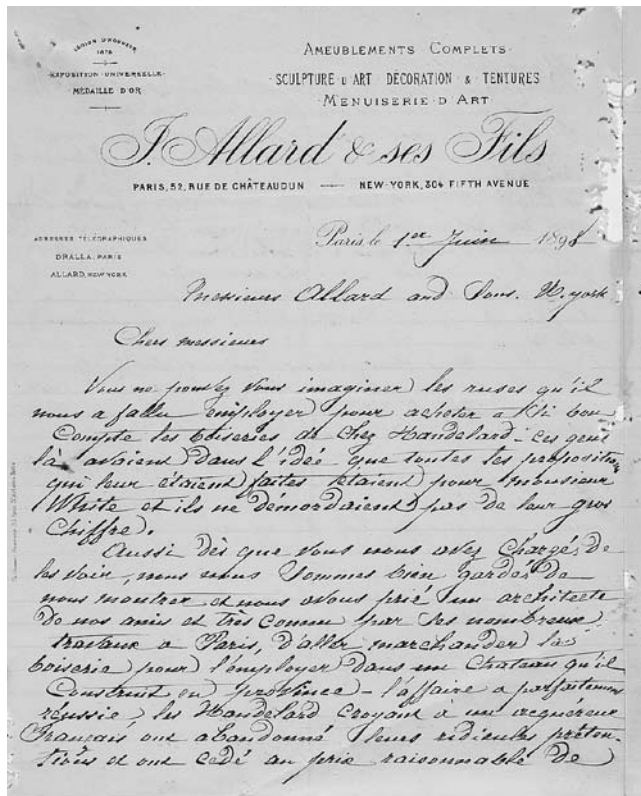
age. For his part, Émile Peyre had probably acquired the chapel of La Bastie with the initial intention of profitably selling the recycled period paneling for insertion in an important architectural project. Growing concern within the French museum community over the export of relatively intact period ensembles, particularly one as rare as the La Bastie paneling, might have encouraged him to look first inside France for a buyer; failing that, he chose to deal abroad discreetly, using an alias. It is possible that Peyre was particularly sensitive to the issue because he had at some stage harbored the idea of including the chapel in his bequest to the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs and perhaps said something publicly to that effect, inviting further scrutiny.

All of these behind-the-scenes dealings encouraged White's association with Allard & Sons to take a conspiratorial turn. The firm's sleight-of-hand intervention may have been ethically flexible, but Allard's interests lay in ensuring a steady supply of architectural material in need of restoration, enhancement, and decorative installation,³³ and their commercial instinct was in the spirit of the day. International decorating houses such as Allard & Sons not only historically acted as art dealers but often made their first foray into the American market under such guise.³⁴ The economic potential of such practical service, although it quickly became secondary to furnishing artistic interiors, was never out of mind for these firms.

Although Peyre, as a dealer, has been acknowledged as the source for the La Bastie paneling and other decorative arts in the W. C. Whitney residence, the evolution of the exchange and his use of the Handelard alias are enlightening. Such covert maneuvering suggests how Continental dealers jockeyed for the developing and potentially lucrative American market while paying lip service to a nascent concern about the fate of dislocated and often domestically neglected artistic works. The participation of now-anonymous intermediaries between European dealers and American clients may have been a standard tactic designed to facilitate profitable transfers to North American collections while harming no one's reputation.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article is based on a presentation at The Metropolitan Museum of Art's symposium *The Past, Present, and Future of the Period Room*, held in conjunction with the Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture on February 15, 2008. The author wishes to thank the following for their invaluable assistance: Charles J. Burns and Claudia E. Thiel of The Preservation Society of Newport County; Benoît Giraud, master's level student at the École du Louvre; Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide of The Metropolitan



16. Letter from Jules Allard to Henri Bouché at Allard & Sons, New York, June 1, 1898, instructing him to alert Stanford White to Allard's actions in Paris to procure "Handelard's Black Choir" (see note 24). Stanford White Papers, Avery Library, Columbia University, New York (SW 13.1(A))

Museum of Art; Janet Parks of the Drawings and Archives Department of the Avery Architectural and Fine Arts Library, Columbia University; Chantal Bouchon and Odile Nouvel at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; and Samuel G. White of Platt Byard Dovell White, architects.

NOTES

Translations from French are by the author unless otherwise stated.

1. Wardropper 2004, pp. 24, 26; Craven 2005, p. 100.
2. The house had been originally built in 1880 after designs by William Schickel for Robert L. Stuart and was acquired by W. C. Whitney in 1896. White directed the elaborate redecorating for Whitney, leaving the original brownstone facade virtually untouched. Following the sale of its contents, the house was demolished in November 1942. See McKim, Mead & White 1973, pp. 65–66.
3. David de Saint-Georges 1896, p. 69.
4. Stanford White, New York, to W. C. Whitney, January 25, 1899, Stanford White Papers, SW 28.4.
5. *Ibid.*, June 2, 1898, SW 28.5.
6. Allard & Sons, New York, to McKim, Mead & White, July 1, 1898, Stanford White Papers, SW 13.2 (A).
7. Pons 1995, p. 364. The room, designated a "Ladies Reception Room," was installed, under the supervision of the architect Richard Morris Hunt (1827–1895), by 1895 in the Vanderbilts' neo-Renaissance villa The Breakers.

8. Allard to White, January 18, 1898, Stanford White Papers, SW 13.2 (A). It appears that White did not buy the room; the salon in question may be a Louis XVI paneled room stripped of paint and added as a library to the interiors of the Louis XIII Hôtel de Lauzun (1657) on the Île St.-Louis by its mid-nineteenth-century owner, Baron Frédéric-Jérôme Pichon (1812–1896). Several interiors introduced by Pichon were put on the market by his grandson following the baron's death. It may be that that this salon, after a circuitous route, eventually came to America. Jules Allard et ses Fils did supply, through White, period elements of Louis XIV paneling from the château of Phoebus d'Albert, baron de Foix, near Bordeaux, that were greatly augmented with modern oak and parcel-gilt panels from the Allard studios, for the décor of W. C. Whitney's ballroom. The paneling of this reception room was removed in 1942 by French & Co., acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (never installed), and deaccessioned; it is now in a private Maryland collection.
9. Bouché to White, February 11, 1898, Stanford White Papers, SW 13.2 (A). White did, in this case, subsequently buy the Tiepolo, and it may be the work he sold not to Harry Payne Whitney but to his estranged uncle, Colonel Oliver Hazard Payne. This circa 1750 oil-on-canvas ceiling painting representing *The Glorification of the Barbaro Family* was given in 1923 to the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 23.128).
10. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1898, SW 13.2 (A).
11. Molinier 1889, p. 105. The Spitzer collection was indeed widely dispersed at public auction in 1893, with many elements making their way to American and British collections.
12. "France Considers Art Export Law," *New York Times*, July 7, 1912, p. C10.
13. Beauchesne 1905, pp. 420–21. Peyre's bequest to the nation was ironically almost dispersed at auction by the French state in 1905; it was deemed by the fiscal authorities that the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, beneficiary of the gift, was a private association and thus subject to inheritance taxes on the bequest totaling 275,000 francs; a public outcry prevented a potential auction to realize the sum. See *Le bulletin de l'art ancien et moderne*, no. 266 (June 24, 1905), p. 193.
14. Craven (2005, p. 100; 2008, pp. 282–83) mentions that White obtained the paneling through Peyre, but does not elaborate.
15. The mansion (1861) was originally built as an eventual retirement villa for Empress Eugénie by the architect Lefuel and extensively remodeled for Baron Hirsch by his architect Chatenay, working with Peyre. The property is today an annex of the adjoining presidential residence, the Palais de l'Élysée.
16. "Une ancienne demeure de l'impératrice," *L'illustration* (Paris), no. 3278 (December 23, 1905), p. 426.
17. David de Saint-Georges 1896, pp. 69–70.
18. These elements were moved to Peyre's shop at 25, rue Saint-Georges.
19. "Épaves de la Bâtie," *Bulletin de la Diana* (Montbrison, France) 1 (1876–81), May–August 1880, pp. 250–51.
20. "Un portrait de Claude d'Urfé," *Bulletin de la Diana* (Montbrison, France) 3 (1885–86), July–October 1886, p. 346.
21. David de Saint-Georges 1896, p. 71.
22. Taylor 1941.
23. Stanford White Papers, SW 28.5.
24. Stanford White Papers, SW 13.1(A): "Vous ne pouvez vous imaginer les ruses qu'il nous a fallu employer pour acheter à si bon compte les boiseries de chez Handelard. Ces gens là avaient dans l'idée que toutes les propositions qui leur étaient faites étaient pour Monsieur White et ils ne démordaient pas de leur gros chiffre. /

Aussi dès que vous nous avez chargés de les voir, nous nous sommes bien gardés de nous montrer et nous avons prié un architecte de nos amis et très connu pour ses nombreux travaux à Paris, d'aller marchander la boiserie pour l'employer dans un château qu'il construit en province. L'affaire a parfaitement réussie, les Handelard croyant à un acquéreur français ont abandonné leurs ridicules prétentions et ont cédé au prix raisonnable de 85,000 francs. / Dès que votre dépêche en réponse à la nôtre nous est parvenue, nous avons remis les 85,000 à notre ami l'architecte, qui a été ce matin même avec trois chariots, enlever les boiseries et les payer. / Les chariots porteront ces boiseries chez l'emballeur qui va les emballer et qui jusqu'au dernier moment croira que l'expédition doit être faite pour la province. On ignore ainsi et on ignorera toujours que c'est nous les acheteurs et que le vrai destinataire est Monsieur White. / Nous vous prions donc et très instamment d'aller trouver Monsieur White au reçu de cette lettre pour le prier de ne jamais dire qu'il s'est servi de notre entremise dans cet achat car cela nous causerait de grands désagréments; les Handelard iraient crier chez les marchands que nous leur avons fait perdre de l'argent, que nous les avons trompés en agissant avec ruse etc. etc. et en outre, notre ami l'architecte nous reprocherait de lui avoir laissé ignorer que c'était pour un acheteur ayant déjà fait des propositions aux Handelard que nous l'avons fait marcher. Monsieur White comprendra certainement que nous pouvons lui rendre d'autant plus de services qu'ils seront ignorés et que les prix marchands que nous obtenons ne seraient pas obtenus si l'on savait que nous achetons pour lui. / Nous ne demandons pas de commission sur cet achat, mais nous pensons que pour notre dérangement, Monsieur White vous chargera de la refecton et pose de la boiserie, et nous aurons bien mérité d'être chargés de ce travail. / Pour nous rembourser de cet achat et aux termes de votre dépêche, nous tirons sur Monsieur White, 160 5eme avenue, New York, notre traite à vue de \$17,000. et nous vous prions de l'aviser ce que nous faisons d'autre part. / La boiserie partira de Liverpool pour Boston le 11 juin, à votre adresse. / J. Allard et ses fils."

25. Bardini, Florence, to White, Florence, September 10, 1898, Stanford White Papers, SW 13.1.
26. Spiridon to Hunt, Paris, April 16, 1895, Biltmore Company Archives, Asheville, North Carolina, 1.1/1.5 box 71, folder 15.
27. Bouché to White, June 21, 1898, Stanford White Papers, SW 13.1 (A).
28. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1898.
29. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1898.
30. A reference to Peyre by the Paris painting restorers Chapuis & Cie. cites his opinion that four Italian paintings, probably from the Paris collection, should be extended by 30 to 40 centimeters; see Chapuis & Cie, Paris, to Stanford White, July 11, 1898, *ibid.*, SW 13.1.
31. *Ibid.*, SW 28.5.
32. White, New York, to Whitney, January 25, 1899, *ibid.*, SW 28.4.
33. When it came to installing the imported architectural elements, Allard's collaboration with White was not always smooth. The architect had a design vision that often clashed with the production and execution methods of a French decorating house. Allard maintained workshop practices, rooted in eighteenth-century tradition, that were both admirably suited and adverse to White's schemes. Stanford White was a conservationist, in matters of finish and texture, ahead of his time; to him patina was a valuable part

of antiquarianism. On November 6, 1898, White wrote a scathing letter to Allard & Sons (SW 21.175) concerning the firm's work on the interiors of his private residence. He felt Allard's New York painters had compromised the patina of an old Venetian ceiling by using blow pipes for surface cleaning followed by wax and polish; he regretted that the same thing had occurred to the "old Henry II" paneling then going up in Whitney's residence "although it had been done very successfully" by the Paris house. "This woodwork had the most beautiful soft bloom I have ever seen in my life, and there was not the slightest necessity for shellacing it or waxing it, as they have done." Stanford White evidently preferred the Renaissance paneling of the Château de la Bastie in its blackened, late nineteenth-century state, with the patina, or "bloom," that explains his reference to the panels as "Handelard's Black Choir."

34. Jules Allard's decades of association with the Vanderbilt family began in 1881 largely as a purveyor of tapestries, through the intermediary of Samuel P. Avery, to William H. Vanderbilt.

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Contents

An Ivory Fan Handle from Nimrud

PAUL COLLINS

Two Roman Pillars from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli

ELIZABETH ANGELICOUSSIS

A Twelfth-Century Baptismal Font from Wellen

JEAN-CLAUDE GHISLAIN

A Venetian Vignette One Hundred Years after Marco Polo

ELFRIEDE R. KNAUER

The Crossbow of Count Ulrich V of Württemberg

DIRK H. BREIDING

Joseph Wright's Pastel *Portrait of a Woman*

I. A Survey of the Drawings of Joseph Wright, by ELIZABETH E. BARKER

II. Sources, Meaning, and Context, by CONSTANCE MCPHEE

III. Technique and Aesthetics, by MARJORIE SHELLEY

A Tale of Two Sultans

I. Fragonard's Real and Fake, by PERRIN STEIN

II. The Materials and Techniques of an Original Drawing by Fragonard and a Copy, by MARJORIE SHELLEY

Peregrinations of a *Lit à la Duchesse en Impériale* by Georges Jacob

DANIËLLE O. KISLUK-GROSHEIDE

Jean-Galbert Salvage and His *Anatomie du gladiateur combattant*:

Art and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary France

RAYMOND LIFCHEZ

Thomas Moran's *Colburn's Butte, South Utah*:

Forgotten Landmark of a Lost Friendship

KEVIN J. AVERY

"Handelar's Black Choir" from Château to Mansion

PAUL F. MILLER